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Monthly Summary.

We inaugurate the new year, and the VIIth Volume of the new series of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, by submitting to our readers a summary of the anti-slavery intelligence of the month. It is our intention to continue the practice, believing that it will greatly add to the interest of our periodical, and induce many persons to circulate it. We hope it will also be the means of obtaining additional subscribers. This change—the desirability of which has for some time been forcing itself upon us—would have taken place earlier, but we found it inconvenient to introduce it in the middle of a volume. We shall be glad to receive suggestions, and we beg to invite communications on anti-slavery subjects.

AMERICA.—On the 3d of November last, a convocation of slaveholders assembled in the court-house of Cambridge, Maryland, and passed resolutions on the subject of holding a general convention in Baltimore, on the second Wednesday in July 1859, to consider a proposal for expelling from Maryland the 25,000 free negroes inhabiting it, or for reducing them to the condition of slaves.

The Hon. W. Jay, more generally known as Judge Jay, whose contributions to American anti-slavery literature have placed him in the foremost rank as an Abolitionist, died at his residence near Bedford, Westchester County, on the 14th of last October, of disease of the heart, being in the 70th year of his age.

A Mr. Henry Abram has put himself up as an anti-slavery candidate for the Governorship of Virginia.

Gerritt Smith, who was put in nomination as Governor of New-York State, has lost the election. Mr. Morgan is the successful candidate.

The electioneering campaign for the Presidency in 1860 is being prosecuted with great vigour. Senators Douglass and Seward are in the field on well-defined but antagonistic principles, the former representing the slaveocracy, the latter the anti-slavery republicans. The nomination of those two political leaders as candidates for the Presidency is due to the result of the recent elections in the States.

Senator C. Sumner's health has been much improved by his visit to the baths. The *National Era* states that he was expected home at the end of December, and will resume the active duties of political life.

The *Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar*, in aid of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, was announced to be held at the close of the year. The *Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair* was also to be held on the 14th of the last month, and the three following days.

A movement is on foot in *New-York State*, to obtain from the Legislature an enactment against surrendering a fugitive slave to any Federal officer. A similar one is being prosecuted in Massachusetts, and copies of the petition are being extensively circulated in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

A Bill has been reported in the North-Carolina Legislature to remove the free coloured population from that State.

On the 6th ultimo President Buchanan delivered his annual message to Congress. The most important paragraph in it, to En-

glish anti-slavery readers, are those which relate to the Kansas question, and the acquisition of Cuba, the latter being treated of as a settled point of the Federal policy.

**AFRICA, WEST COAST.**—The American frigate *Niagara*, which left Charleston on the 20th of September last, having on board the remainder of the negroes captured in the slaver *General Putnam, alias the Echo*,\* arrived at Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, on the 8th of November. She landed 257, having lost 70 during the passage of 49 days. The number which the *Echo* originally took on board, off the Congo, was 470. Many were much reduced on landing, but were recovering rapidly.

M. Chevalier, the French immigration agent, was out again in the *Phœnix*, and without touching at any port of the Liberian Republic, had commenced purchasing slaves at Sugaree, Manna Rock, and Gallinas. H.M. ship *Alecto* went in pursuit, at the request of the Liberian authorities, and, on boarding the *Phœnix*, discovered several negroes confined in the hold. The commander of the *Alecto* had instructions to bring the *Phœnix* into Monrovia, if, in his judgment, she was found contravening the Liberian laws against slave-trading. Armed boats had been stationed, by the men-of-war, between the vessel and the shore, to prevent further shipments.

**Messrs. Isaacs, Reader, and Co.** of Sierra Leone, are manufacturing large quantities of indigo at the island of Matacong, forty miles from the colony. It is quite a new enterprise. They have 200 acres under cultivation, and the produce is reported to be of first-rate quality.

**FRANCE.**—The *Journal de la Société de la Morale Chrétienne* for September and October last contains an excellent article on negro immigration, condemning the French scheme, and stating that the treatment to which the immigrants are subjected in the colonies, “by local permission,” is so severe as to amount to absolute cruelty.

No certain information is to hand respecting the decision of the Imperial Commission on the immigration scheme. It is stated, however, that the majority, if not the whole, of the French officers who have given evidence are in favour of maintaining the system, as are the former governors of the colonies. It is admitted that “irregularities” have occurred in carrying it out, but they may, it is said, be easily remedied. One person opposed to the immigration has not yet been heard. As it will be necessary to send instructions to the colonial governors, and to the officers commanding stations, whose instructions are at an end, the provisional maintenance of the immigration is reported

to have been resolved upon, with recommendations to observe strict vigilance in carrying it out; but the final decision rests with the Emperor, whatever be the views or recommendations of the Commission. There appears to be very little doubt that the Commissioners have agreed to a report in favour of the scheme, and the *Pays* publishes a long vindication of the *Regis* scheme, and defends it against the imputation of being a slave-trade in disguise. It sets forth, that after the emancipation of the slaves in the French colonies it became necessary to provide free-labour for the latter, to prevent their ruin, therefore a contract was entered into with M. Regis, by which he undertook to land in the French colonies, before 1860, 20,000 free negro labourers. The contract was dated March 14, 1857. The *Pays* then goes on to vindicate the superiority of the negro over the coolie-trade; but, as it seems, only on the ground that the introduction of coolies is 30 per cent. more expensive than that of negroes.

It is said that a contract has been signed between the Marine Department and a firm at Marseilles to supply the islands of Guadaloupe and Martinique with 20,000 free Africans, suited for agricultural labour before the 1st January 1863, and that similar contracts have been entered into with other houses, which Prince Napoleon, as Minister of the Colonies, is resolved to avail himself of.

**THE WEST INDIES.**—On the 9th November ultimo, Governor Darling opened the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica with the customary formalities. He dwelt upon the progressive increase in the quantity of the staple exports, and in the amount of revenue derived from duties on articles of consumption; and at very great length upon the question of the supply of native labour, and the necessity of immigration. On the 17th, Mr. Jordan presented Bills to provide for the introduction of Chinese labourers, “at the expense of private persons,” and to “amend the laws relating to agricultural immigrants, and to provide for re-payment of the expenses attendant upon their introduction and subsequent colonization.” In the House of Assembly of Tuesday, the 23d November, the engrossed Immigration Bill was brought up for a third reading, when, on the motion of Mr. Hosack, several amendments were made thereto. The Bill, as amended, was then read a third time and passed, and sent to the Legislative Council. The House threw out the Bill introduced by the Governor, for providing an adequate number of stipendiary magistrates, and arming them with sufficient power to protect the immigrants. Mr. Osborn, a gentleman of colour in the Assembly, proposed to pay the ordinary magistrates so much a day

\*Vide Reporter for December last—ED. A.-S. R.

when they attended at the courts to do justice.

The *Daily Advertiser*, published at Kingston, of which two numbers have—for the first time—been addressed to us, contains some singularly abusive articles on the correspondence, which has taken place between Mr. Cave and the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, and alleges that the letter of the latter, in the *Times*, had caused “a general outburst of indignation.”

Final arrangements have been made, in British Guiana, for the introduction of immigrants. The actual term of engagement is ten years, with an additional bounty of fifty dollars for the last five of their term under indenture, to be paid by the planters, and a return-passage at the end of that period, at the expense of the colony. The discussions on the subject had extended over a considerable space of time, and the result is, to saddle the colony with one-third of the expenses of immigration, the planters being liable for the remainder. Attention was being directed to the success which had attended the efforts of Mr. Sharpe, in inducing labourers from Barbados to repair to St. Vincent, and a suggestion had been thrown out, to endeavour to obtain the same class of immigrants for British Jamaica.

The Barbados journals are full of letters and articles on the subject of the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society's* paper, read at the Social Science Meeting, and on the letter of His Excellency Governor Hincks to Mr. Charles Tappan. The discussion is eliciting some extremely useful facts.

**MARTINIQUE.**—The Council-General of Martinique has determined to import 18,000 “immigrants,” of whom 7000 are to be Africans, under the Regis contract, and the remainder Chinese. The contract for supplying the latter has been taken up by a Bordeaux firm in conjunction with a merchant named Gastel. The co-operation of the Catholic Missionaries in China is confidently relied upon. The engagement comprises two categories of immigrants, namely, adult males, of the age of fourteen to thirty, and females of fourteen to thirty, and non-adults, that is, children of both sexes, from nine years old to fourteen. The firm is to supply a minimum number of 2000, and a maximum of 3000 a year, under a penalty of ten francs for each immigrant short of that number. The “immigrants” will be under indentures to serve for at least five years, or eight, each adult to receive four piastres and each non-adult two piastres and a half a month, with liberty to return home at their own expense at the end of their term of service. The Colonial Treasury is to pay the importing firm 659 francs 10 centimes (about 26*l.* 8*s.*) for each adult indentured for eight years, and 436 francs 30 cen-

times (about 17*l.* 10*s.*) for each non-adult. For each adult indentured for five years only, 485 francs (about 18*l.* 8*s.*), and 291 francs (about 11*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) for each non-adult. The firm is, moreover, to be entitled to a bounty on each adult or non-adult indentured for five or eight years, of 150 francs (*6l.*), which is to be paid by the planter, who is also liable for advances made to the immigrants, to the maximum amount of 12 piastres. The planters will be held responsible to the Colonial Exchequer for the re-payment of all sums disbursed on immigration account, except 100 francs (*4l.*) in the introduction bounty, which will be paid by the colony; and the sums thus advanced are to be repaid in three years for the immigrants introduced for five years, and in five years for those introduced for eight. The first importation is promised for the month of May next year. The *Richelieu*, belonging to the *Compagnie Maritime*, had arrived at Fort-de-France from Pondicherry, with 515 coolies. The dates from Martinique are up to the 28th of November last.

## THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

WITH the following extracts, we close Mr. Olmsted's account of his experience of North-Carolina slave-life and slaveholder's habits. It will be noticed that he considers there is exaggeration in many of the published accounts of cruelties practised upon slaves; but his evidence on their liability to excessive punishment is terribly suggestive.

### TREATMENT OF NEGROES ON THE RICE PLANTATIONS.

“ That the slaves on Mr. X's plantation were treated with all the kindness which a reasonable desire to make their labour profitable, and a loyal regard for the laws of the State for the preservation of Slavery would allow, was evident. A little more than that in fact, for privileges were sometimes openly allowed them, contrary to the laws. I was also satisfied, by the representations made to me, that many of the published reports as to the sufferings of the slaves on the rice-plantations—like that in ‘Porter's Tropical Agriculture,’ for instance—are greatly exaggerated, or, at least, have but very limited application. That the slaves are sometimes liable, however, to be treated with excessive cruelty, and that often their situation must be very unpleasant, will be apparent from a very few considerations.

“ In the first place, if the humane Mr. X. could, with impunity, disregard the laws, for the purpose of increasing the comforts of his negroes, in so important a particular as by allowing them to possess, and keep in their cabins, guns and ammunition, for their own sport, as he did, what should prevent a heartless and unprincipled

man, if such a one could be rich enough to own a rice-plantation, from equally disregarding the laws, in the exercise of his ill humour? Mr. X. told me that he had sold but three slaves off his plantation in twenty years, and these either went willingly, or were banished for exceedingly and persistently bad conduct. But during the week that I was on his plantation, one of his neighbours sold an excellent man to a trader, without any previous intimation to him that he intended to do so, without having any fault to find with him, and without the slightest regard, apparently, to the strong ties of kindred which were ruptured in the transaction.

" This gentleman, too, though spoken of as eccentric, was evidently under no social taboo, and was, I believe, considered a ' pious' man.\*

" Again, Mr. X. had established regulations, to prevent his negroes from being punished by his subordinates in the heat of sudden anger. Still, another of his neighbours, at the time of my visit while in a drunken frolic, not only flogged a number of his negroes without cause, but attempted to shoot and stab them; and if he did not succeed in killing any of them outright, was only prevented from doing so by what the law would have considered, and often has considered, an act of insubordination to be justifiably punished with death.

" During the summer, for from four to six months at least, not one rice planter in a hundred resides on his plantation, but leaves it, with all his slaves, in charge of an overseer. The overseers for rice-plantations have to be chosen from among a population of whites, comparatively very limited in number; from among those, namely, that have been born and reared in the miasmatic district of the coast; or, if they are taken from elsewhere, they must be very reckless and mercenary men who engage in so dangerous an occupation.

Mr. X.'s overseer was considered an uncommonly valuable one. He had been in his employment for eight years, a longer time than Mr. X. had ever known any other overseer to remain on one plantation; yet I have shewn that Mr. X. thought it necessary to restrain his authority within the narrowest possible limits which the law would permit.

" He spoke of the character of overseers in general, as planters universally have whenever I have asked information on the point, as exceedingly bad. It was rare that an overseer remained more than two years in succession on the same plantation, and often they were changed every year. They were almost universally drunken and dissolute, and constantly liable to neglect their duties. Their families, when they had them, were generally unhappy. They were excessively extravagant; and but few ever saved any thing year by year from their wages.

" The *Southern Agriculturalist*, published at Charleston, South Carolina, says:

\* " Within fifty miles of this plantation, I heard a Presbyterian clergyman urge a man, whom he had never before seen, to purchase some slaves of him, which he had inherited, and had in his possession for many years.

" " Overseers are changed every year; a few remain four or five years; but the average length of time they remain on the same plantation will not exceed two years.

" " What are the general character of overseers? They are taken from the lowest grade of society, and seldom have had the benefit of a religious education, and have no fear of offending God, and consequently no check on their natural propensities; they give way to passion, intemperance, and every sin, and become savages in their conduct.—*Southern Agriculturalist*, Vol. IV. p. 351.

" A writer in the '*South Carolinian*', published at the capital of the State, says:

" " Somehow, many persons improperly consider overseeing as a degrading occupation. I do not see why. Probably the notion arises from the impression that every thing is done on a plantation by dint of lashing. When this is the case, it is the fault of the overseer. My opinion is, that of all punishments it is the least efficacious, and that fifteen or twenty lashes, lightly inflicted, are as much as should ever be given. For serious offences, other punishments, such as solitary confinement, should be resorted to. I am happy to state that this idea is rapidly gaining ground among the planters; and could they entirely control their overseers, or obtain overseers of better education, a most important change in this particular would be accomplished."

" The writer is speaking of the cotton planters of the interior, who reside on their plantations, and are under no necessity of leaving them during the summer, as are rice-planters.

" These extracts, in connection with the well known facts to which I have referred, prove, beyond a question, that the slaves of the most humane rice planters are exceedingly likely to be subject to the uncontrolled tyranny of men of the most heartless and reckless disposition.

" The precariousness of the much-vaunted happiness of the slaves can need but one further reflection to be appreciated. No white man can be condemned for any cruelty or neglect, no matter how fiendish, on slave testimony. The rice-plantations, generally, are in a region very sparsely occupied by whites: the plantations are nearly all very large—often miles across: many a one of them occupying the whole of an island—and rarely is there more than one white man upon a plantation at a time, during the summer. Upon this one man each slave is dependent, even for the necessities of life.

" What labouring man in the free States can truly be told that the slaves are better off than he is? Nay, in Europe, who desires to change his circumstances for these? Does not Mr. George Sanders rather over-do his part, when he tells the French Democrats that the working-men of France are in far worse circumstances than the American slaves? What Frenchman, about starving to death, is desirous that his wife and children shall be ' provided for' during life, in the Carolina method? Disgraceful to mankind as is the Napoleonic usurpation, this is more so. It is not our business to interfere with it, I may admit; but I must expose the sophistry by which we are coaxed to aid and comfort it.

Mr. Olmsted proceeds through South Ca-

rolina, and presents a graphic picture of the state of things there, shewing the blightning effects of the system of Slavery on society, on agriculture, and on industrial enterprise of every kind. It is impossible not to be struck with the following illustration of its results on the statics and prospects of

#### THE POOR WHITES IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

"No observant traveller can pass through South Carolina, and extend his observation beyond the illuminated ground of hospitality, and not perceive a state of things similar to that here described. The slaveholders have, as far as possible, with their capital secured the best circumstances for the employment of that slave-labour which is the most valuable part of their capital. They need no assistance from the poor white man: his presence near them is disagreeable and unprofitable. Condemned to the poorest land, and restricted to the labour of merely providing for themselves the simplest necessities of life, they are equally indifferent and incompetent to materially improve their minds or their wealth.

"Few will wish to ask whether the condition of the non-slaveholders is compensated by the progress of knowledge and the abundance of happiness among the slaveholders. This is impossible, considering the relative numbers of each. But it will be interesting to see how this distinct separation of classes, into the ignorant and the cultivated, is opposed to an economical direction of the forced labour of the slaves, leads, everywhere, to improvidence and waste in the use of the natural resources of the country, and prevents a rapid increase of wealth, even among the opulent and educated.

"A man, finding himself chiefly distinguished from a class despised of his comrades, by his superior intellectual cultivation, naturally cultivates his intellect further in those directions which wealth gives him a monopoly of pursuing, in preference to those in which he must advance on equal terms with the poor. The greater the class distinctions, the more general will be the habit of lazy contemplation—of dilettantism, and the less that of practical industry and the capacity for laborious personal observation and invention."

#### DOMESTIC SLAVERY IN WEST AFRICA.

WE make the following extract from a letter signed "An Englishman," published in a recent number of the *Statesman*, principally for the purpose of recording the facts adduced, in proof of the extent to which domestic Slavery exists on the Gold Coast. Cape Coast Castle is a Crown settlement, and though our government may be unable to interfere directly to suppress the pawn-system, we consider it is bound not to encourage it. Moreover, if British officials are in the habit of acquiring slaves, through their female connections, it is the duty of the government to put a stop to the practice, and punish the delinquents. If "An Englishman" will

communicate directly with us, we shall be glad to receive further information.

\* \* \* \* \*

"I come now to the marrow of my complaint, and I invoke the unimpassioned judgment of the Manchester Cotton-Supply Association. I am about to approach the most serious charge which can be brought against a government professing itself to be free, and the patron of freedom. Neither able to extenuate a single circumstance, nor anxious to 'set down aught in malice,' I will record an instance of flagrant wrongdoing, as it floats to the surface of recollection, and so strive to substantiate my plea.

"By his own direct acts, or by the acts of the officers deputed to govern the Gold Coast, the Colonial Minister has supported, and does still support, internal Slavery. Seventeen years ago Dr. Madden characterized the administration of the law, in regard to Slavery within the limits of our African dominions, as a detestable system, which, in the end, would pile dishonour on the revered fame, and inflict permanent injury on the general commerce of England. It may be well that I should forego all vague generalities, and that, being furnished with the needful notes, I should recount at once the substance of a disgraceful action—*Quasie Amyan v. Accosoosah Chubah*—which was heard before the Honourable Robert Clarke, at Cape Coast, on the 23d of last September.

"Having been sworn, Quasie Amyan stated that he resided at Accassah, and was married to the defendant eight years ago. He had lived happily with her for seven years and four months, and she had borne him four children, two of whom were alive. In January he was cited before Ahoomah, the chief of Ajimarcoo, when he was fined 13½ ackies, on the ground that his nephew, whom he had left in charge of his children, had refused to hand them over to the messenger of Ahoomah. On that occasion his nephew was beaten and dragged before Ahoomah. His wife and two children were in the possession of the defendant. They had applied to him for food, with which he had supplied them.

"The defendant admitted that the plaintiff had paid 13½ ackies to her husband, Dowa, for her daughter, as dowry-money. Some time since she had summoned her husband to the Magistrates' Court, because, although a free woman, she had been treated by him as his slave; but the statement which had been then made by her of her being free was disproved, and a decree was granted that she should pay nine ounces to redeem herself, her daughter, and two grandchildren. Accordingly the defendant borrowed nine ounces from Ahoomah, on the understanding that, when the defendant had obtained the tickets of manumission from the Court, she should pawn herself, her daughter, and two grandchildren, to him. Returning to Ajimarcoo with the manumittory tickets, the defendant did pawn herself and family. Ahoomah sent for the plaintiff, his wife, and two children, and explained to them that they were his pawns, inasmuch as he had lent the defendant the means of redeeming herself and them, on the express condition that they should become his pawns.

"The plaintiff, on being re-examined, deposed that he had borrowed the dowry-money—13½ ackies—which was to be payable in six months, and which, by reason of the interest, had now swollen to 18 ackies.

"Cofee Yammie, having been sworn, affirmed, that by the laws of the country the defendant, being a slave, could not pawn herself or any of her family.

"In reply to a question put by the foreman of the jury, the plaintiff alleged that he was aware that the daughter of the defendant was Dowa's slave when he married her; that he was not his uncle's heir, but was a nephew of Dowa.

"In answer to the jury, the defendant reiterated that she was Ahoomah's pawn. Dowa, the husband of the defendant, confessed that he had received 13½ ackies from the plaintiff for his daughter; that he had received, also, from the former husband of the defendant, 9 ackies, which, with interest, had amounted to 13½ ackies.

"After having listened to the remarks of the Honourable Robert Clarke, the Judicial Assessor, on the merits of the whole evidence, the jury delivered the following verdict by the mouth of their foreman, Isaac Robertson: 'That the defendant, Accooossoah Chubah, is not guilty of taking away the plaintiff's wife and children.'

"Indefensible and shocking as it is, this plaint may be accepted as a sample of the majority of plaints which are filed for adjudication before a British magistrate on the Gold Coast. Dr. Roe, the late Acting Chief Justice of Cape Coast, has drawn up some rules by which the magistrates are for the most part compelled to abide; and, in this self-same cause of Quasie Amyan, a rule which had been defined by Dr. Roe was obeyed by securing the consent of the slaveholder to allow his pawn—who was also his wife—to redeem herself, her daughter, and her two grandchildren, by pawning herself and her family to another person, so that the sum which was requisite for their united redemption should be raised.

"I protest that the policy which has been overtly pursued by the Colonial Office on the Western Coast of Africa is unconstitutional, and that, unless a special decree of Parliament shall have been proclaimed to legalize that policy, the Colonial Minister is liable to impeachment. At Sierra Leone and at the Gambia, a semblance of rigid adherence to the law of England is parodied by the declaration that no British subject can own a slave. The quibble is, that no *white man* can possess a slave. Monstrous subterfuge! No British subject, forsooth, does own a slave; but every hour the Romanus Civis evades the law by marrying, in accordance with African custom, a coloured or a black woman, who can and does possess slaves in her own name; and although the British Government does not recognise the African lady as a veritably born liege of the British Crown, she can walk, nevertheless, into court with a slave-case, and claim award of justice from the lips of a British judge.

"Puritanical time-servers and shallower casuists may still flatly urge that the form of Slavery on the coast is vastly modified; but, be the form what it shall, to all lawless purposes Slavery breathes and moves in broadest licence. Any civil or military servant of the Queen can

be the master of a batch of slaves, if he but have the cash to buy, or rather to 'pawn,' them from their immediate chiefs, or from their families. One ounce of gold-dust is the ordinary price knuckled down for a slave; but sometimes that price may be advanced to three ounces. So soon as a man puts his foot within the English settlement, he begins to fret his brains about the purchase of a pretty little blackamoer. If lucky in his market, he invests the pliant maid with all the attributes of a pseudo-spouse for the term of his temporary exile. Girt by a band of dancing-girls, whose lascivious motions are meant to rouse her slumbering passion, and cheered by the approval of her parents, her friends, her conscience, and her creed, the damsel enters gladly on the degrading functions of concubinage; and should she prove herself false in one iota to bed or board, the buyer can always recover the amount of his 'pawn' in an English court of justice, and at the nod of an English judge.

"The people of England are not furnished with a daily catalogue of these things, for if they were they would shew an infinite deal less of staunch lukewarmness in the mitigation of Slavery on African soil; and perhaps my Lord Brougham, and those excellent and luminous statesmen who have set their faces against emigration from Africa, are hugging themselves heartily with the conviction, that in the same ratio as the outward traffic in black flesh is decreased, so must the inward trade be hurrying to its death. Alas for them! The grey-haired prophets of emancipation must hang awhile on the nimble heels of Manchester. There is balm for them in yarn. Capped and clad in rectitude, duty should precede profit. It moulds the heart and mends the head. The members of the Cotton-Supply Association have a mission to fulfil. They cannot start the growth of cotton in Western Africa and shelter Slavery. They cannot countenance the official sins pigeonholed in Downing street. To develop rightly and lastingly the commercial or agricultural resources of Africa, they must not shrink at any odds from toiling side by side with the manly spirit of freedom. Else why weep for 'Uncle Tom'? Far better for them that they went not to the Gold Coast, than that they should scour the seas thither to reverse or jeopardize the holy dogma laid down by Wilberforce. How can they talk of enlightenment and liberty, of the liberal arts and sciences, and of equitable commercial interchanges, to the kings of Ashantee and Dahomey, when their own strong arms fail to weld the half-fused metal of oppression to their upright will? Can hypocrisy be viler than when it stalks in the garb of knowledge and revealed religion to instruct the untaught and baptize the pagan?"

#### AMERICAN INTRIGUES IN ST. DOMINGO.

No. I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER."

London, Dec. 15, 1858.

SIR.—The island of St. Domingo, once united under the firm administration of Boyer for a period of twenty-two years, is now divided into

two parts, the East, or Spanish part, forming the Dominican Republic, and the West, or French part, being constituted into the empire of Souloque. It is not, at present, my intention to speak of the causes of the civil war in the eastern province which led to the separation, but it must be obvious to every one who has studied the recent history of the country, that this separation has occasioned much present weakness and misfortune and has surrounded the future with perils of incalculable magnitude. The existence of two antagonistic negro states on the same island, necessarily influenced by mutual jealousies and hatreds, and still bearing to each other the relations of an imperial power and a revolted province, could not fail to invite foreign aggression and intrigue. The petty representatives of England, France, Spain, and the United States, have, in turn, taken advantage of the weakness of the local governments to play the game of their respective countries, but the emissaries of the latter power appear to have been influenced by the most evil motives, and to have contemplated the most unscrupulous attacks on the liberty and independence of the island. These intrigues doubtless form a part of that great scheme of territorial expansion and slaveholding propagandism, which aims to extend the government of the stars and stripes over Mexico, Central America, and Cuba. The first-fruits of American diplomacy in the Dominican Republic were gathered in 1854, when, by dint of intrigues with Santana, the President, and, as it is averred, by heavy bribes paid to him and other native functionaries, the United-States' Commissioner, General Cazeneau, obtained the cession, by treaty, of the splendid peninsula or bay of Samana, together with other advantages to which I need not more particularly allude, further than to say that they included the right of American citizens to hold and cultivate land, and to work mines. The object of this treaty was, doubtless, to allure large numbers of American adventurers to the shores of St. Domingo, by the certainty of immediate profit and the prospect of far more substantial rewards. The treaty was happily not carried out, owing, in a great measure, to the exertions of the French and English Consuls, who, by shewing to the Dominican Congress the danger of making such important concessions to the United States, induced them to refuse to ratify the treaty. Santana, however, still continued to encourage American intrigues, and thereby occasioned the invasion of Dominican territory in 1855 by the Emperor Soulouque, whose fears were not unreasonably excited by the prospect of an American occupation of the Republic. This war delayed the fall of Santana which, however, took place in 1856, when he was compelled to resign the presidential office amid the execrations of his fellow-citizens, who cried in the streets of

San Domingo, '*A bas le tyran ! A bas les Américains !*' He was succeeded by Baez, who compelled him to leave the country; but he returned a few months ago, and, by the aid of his partisans, succeeded in capturing the city of San Domingo, and restoring himself to power.

It is not difficult to discover what political advantages the possession of territorial rights in the Dominican Republic, together with the important bay of Samana, would have conferred upon the American Government. They would, for all time to come, have been able to prevent that union of the two sections of the island which alone can give a fair chance of success to the great experiment of negro self-government, and thereby prove the falsehood of those shallow theories of the intellectual inferiority of the African race, which form the sole justification of American Slavery. They would have had a pretext, of which they would not have been slow to avail themselves, for perpetual interference with the domestic affairs of the whole island; and if no worse result happened, they would, at least, have placed the Emperor Soulouque and the Dominican President in a position of abject dependence on their will and pleasure. More than this, the bay of Samana might have formed a point from which the realization of the cherished schemes of slaveholding aggression against Cuba, and even our own West-India Islands, might one day be attempted, if not actually carried out. No doubt all these considerations were well weighed by the cabinet of General Pierce, when they resolved to ply Santana and his confederates with American gold, and to tempt them to permit the champions of manifest destiny to plant their flag upon the northern shores of St. Domingo. Happily, however, the temporary overthrow of Santana put an end to these projects, or at least suspended their execution; but their revival is not unlikely, now that Santana by the defeat of Baez, has been restored to power. General Pierce, it is true, has retired into private life, but his party still continues in the ascendant at Washington, and Mr. Buchanan, like his predecessor, is its creature and instrument, rather than its leader.

That a change of Presidents in the United States has produced no change of policy is but too evident from the proceedings of Mr. Buchanan in regard to the island of Navaza. This island, which forms a part of the dominions of the Emperor Soulouque, is situate between the south-western coast of Hayti and the island of Jamaica, and is about thirty miles from Cape Tiburon. That the island belongs to Hayti is proved by incontrovertible historical evidence. All historical writers on St. Domingo are agreed on this point. Herrera says, in his 'Descripción de las Indias Occidentales,' chap. vi. p. 7, Madrid, 1730 :—'The harbours, &c., and the isles belonging to the coast of that island (Hispaniola)

are on the coast (he then enumerates all the isles) \* \* \* la Nabaca (Navaza) ten leagues at sea, &c.' Charlevoix, in his 'Histoire de l'ile Espagnole, ou de St. Domingo,' Paris, 1830, writes: 'Moreover, all round Hispaniola or St. Domingo are found several small isles that are annexed to her, and that may still be very useful to her. The most considerable are the Saona \* \* \* besides Navaza and Mona, the first being ten leagues from Cape Tiburon towards Jamaica.'

Several months ago the Haytian Government learnt that this island, which contains extensive deposits of guano, had been invaded by a party of American adventurers, who had established themselves there for the purpose of digging and exporting the guano, without making any attempt to obtain the permission of the authorities at Port-au-Prince. The Haytian Government immediately forwarded a statement of the facts of the case to the Cabinet at Washington, selecting as their medium of communication the American commercial agent at Port-au-Prince, because, up to the present time, no diplomatic intercourse has been permitted between the two countries. They also despatched two Commissioners to Navaza to report upon the actual state of affairs in the island. The Commissioners, on their return, reported that they discovered on the north-west coast of the island an extensive establishment for the exportation of guano. This establishment consisted of about fifty persons, together with a wharf, boats, and houses, and two four-pounders. The whole party was under the management of Mr. John L. Frazier, who stated that he was the agent of an association at Baltimore which had entered into contracts with the Governments owning islands in the Caribbean Sea, for the exportation of guano from such of them as might be found to contain that valuable manure. It is scarcely necessary to say that no such contract had been made with the Haytian Government, and that Mr. Frazier's statement was an invention of his own.

As might be expected, the remonstrances of the Haytian Government have failed to produce any effect upon the American authorities. The protest sent through the American commercial agent was answered on the 15th of August last, by the appearance, at Port-au-Prince, of two American men-of-war. The American commodore notified to the Haytian Minister for Foreign Affairs, not that he had come to vindicate the sovereign rights of Hayti, but to warn the Imperial Government against interfering with the intruders at Navaza, who, he alleged, had settled there by virtue of an Act of Congress passed on the 18th of August 1836, which authorized the Government to protect American citizens who may discover guano on any island not within the lawful jurisdiction of any other Government. The Amer-

ican commodore, not being empowered to discuss the question — for, in all likelihood, the very good reason that Haytian jurisdiction over Navaza was susceptible of too easy a proof — sailed off without waiting for a reply. The Government of Hayti have addressed a new protest to Washington, and there, for the present, the matter rests. It will be remembered, that, five years ago, a precisely similar difficulty arose between the United States and Peru, when the islands of Lobos were occupied by a party of American citizens. Then the Cabinet at Washington felt itself bound to admit the jurisdiction and to respect the rights of Peru. Why, then, should America now seek to pursue a different policy towards Hayti? The reason would certainly appear to be, either that she cares no longer to recognise the rights of weaker nations, or that, in the particular case of Hayti, she has ulterior designs to accomplish. It is certainly some satisfaction to know that this aggression, like most others of a similar character, has not paid its own expenses; for I learn that the guano is of such an inferior quality, that several tons of it, exported to Liverpool, could not find a market, and the vessel in which it was loaded was compelled to take it back again, thereby involving the speculators in a serious loss. But although America may not be able to turn the guano of Navaza to profitable account, she may, nevertheless, retain possession of the island for more important purposes. What could be easier than for her to erect on the island a small fort, and garrison it with soldiers? or to use it as a coaling station for American vessels? But whether any such use of it be made by America or not, the principle involved in the question remains precisely the same. If America is allowed to retain possession of Navaza without protest, what is to prevent her from exploring the numerous other islands which dot the Haytian coast, and, under similar pretexts, to plant her flag upon such of them as she may please to occupy?

Clearly it is the duty of England to interpose her friendly offices, and, by every moral influence which she can exert, to protect the rights of a feeble ally. Such may have been, and, I trust, has been, the policy of Lord Malmesbury; but as this is necessarily a matter of doubt and uncertainty, I would indulge in the earnest hope, that the influence of Lord Brougham, and of other distinguished friends of the negro in both Houses of Parliament, will be employed to accomplish this most desirable object.

With your permission, in a second communication I shall call attention to another and a later phase which American designs against St. Domingo have assumed.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,  
F. W. CHESSON.

## PRESIDENT BUCHANAN ON CUBA.

We append, by way of record, an extract from the message of President Buchanan, to which reference is made in our Summary. No one can read the President's sentiments without perceiving that he is nursing up a series of old grievances, to be brought forward some day against Spain, and which will furnish a pretext for seizing Cuba, should the negotiations for its purchase prove unsuccessful.

## OUR RELATIONS WITH SPAIN.

"With Spain our relations remain in an unsatisfactory condition. In my Message of December last I informed you that our Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Madrid had asked for his recall; and it was my purpose to send out a new Minister to that Court, with special instructions on all questions pending between the two Governments, and with a determination to have them speedily and amicably adjusted if that were possible. This purpose has been hitherto defeated by causes which I need not enumerate.

"The mission to Spain has been entrusted to a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, who will proceed to Madrid without delay, and make another and a final attempt to obtain justice from the Government.

"Spanish officials, under the direct control of the Captain-General of Cuba, have insulted our national flag, and, in repeated instances, have from time to time inflicted injuries on persons and property of our citizens. These have given birth to numerous claims against the Spanish Government, the merits of which have been ably discussed for a series of years by our successive diplomatic representatives. Notwithstanding this, we have not arrived at a practical result in any single instance, unless we may except the case of the *Black Warrior*, under the late administration; and that presented an outrage of such a character as would have justified an immediate resort to war. All our attempts to obtain redress have been baffled and defeated. The frequent and oft-recurring changes in the Spanish Ministry have been employed as reasons for delay. We have been compelled to wait again and again until the new Minister shall have had time to investigate the justice of our demand.

"Even what have been denominated 'the Cuban claims,' in which more than a hundred of our citizens are directly interested, have furnished no exception. These claims were for the refunding of duties unjustly exacted from American vessels, at different Custom-houses in Cuba, so long ago as the year 1844. The principles upon which they rest are so manifestly equitable and just, that after a period of nearly ten years, in 1854, they were recognised by the Spanish Government. Proceedings were afterwards instituted to ascertain their amount, and this was finally fixed, according to their own statement, (with which we are satisfied,) at the sum of 128,633 dols. 54c. Just at the moment, after a delay of fourteen years, when we had reason to expect that this sum would be repaid with interest, we have received a proposal, offering to refund one-third of that amount (42,878 dols. 41c.), but without interest, if we would accept

this in full satisfaction. The offer is also accompanied by a declaration, that this indemnification is not founded on any reason of strict justice, but is made as a special favour.

"One alleged cause for procrastination in the examination and adjustment of our claims arises from an obstacle which it is the duty of the Spanish Government to remove. While the Captain-General of Cuba is invested with general despotic authority in the government of that island, the power is withheld from him to examine and redress wrongs committed, by officials under his control, on citizens of the United States. Instead of making our complaints directly to him at Havana, we are obliged to present them through our Minister at Madrid. These are then referred back to the Captain-General for information; and much time is thus consumed in preliminary investigations and correspondence between Madrid and Cuba before the Spanish Government will consent to proceed to negociation. Many of the difficulties between the two Governments would be obviated, and a long train of negociation avoided, if the Captain-General were invested with authority to settle questions of easy solution on the spot, where all the facts are fresh, and could be promptly and satisfactorily ascertained. We have hitherto in vain urged upon the Spanish Government to confer this power upon the Captain-General, and our Minister in Spain will again be instructed to urge this subject on their notice. In this respect we occupy a different position from the Powers in Europe. Cuba is almost within sight of our shores; our commerce with it is far greater than that of any other nation, including Spain itself; and our citizens are in habits of daily and extended personal intercourse with every part of the island. It is therefore a great grievance that, when any difficulty occurs, no matter how unimportant, which might readily be settled at the moment, we should be obliged to resort to Madrid, especially when the very first step to be taken there is to refer it back to Cuba.

"The truth is, that Cuba, in its existing colonial condition, is a constant source of injury and annoyance to the American people. It is the only spot in the civilized world where the African slave-trade is tolerated; and we are bound by treaty with Great Britain to maintain a naval force on the coast of Africa, at much expense both of life and treasure, solely for the purpose of arresting slaves bound to that island. The late serious difficulties between the United States and Great Britain respecting the right of search, now so happily terminated, could never have arisen if Cuba had not afforded a market for slaves. As long as this market shall remain open there can be no hope for the civilization of benighted Africa. While the demand for slaves continues in Cuba, wars will be waged among the petty and barbarous chiefs in Africa, for the purpose of seizing subjects to supply this trade. In such a condition of affairs it is impossible that the light of civilization and religion can ever penetrate these dark abodes.

"It has been made known to the world by my predecessors that the United States have, on several occasions, endeavoured to acquire Cuba from Spain by honourable negociation. If this were accomplished the last relic of the African

slave-trade would immediately disappear. We would not, if we could, acquire Cuba in any other manner. This is due to our national character. All the territory which we have acquired since the origin of the Government has been by fair purchase from France, Spain, and Mexico, or by the free and voluntary act of the independent State of Texas, in blending her destinies with our own. This course we shall ever pursue, unless circumstances should occur, which we do not now anticipate, rendering a departure from it clearly justifiable under the imperative and overruling law of self-preservation.

"The island of Cuba, from its geographical position, commands the mouth of the Mississippi, and its immense and annually increasing trade, foreign and coastwise, from the valley of that noble river, now embracing half the sovereign States of the Union. With that island under the dominion of a distant foreign Power, this trade, of vital importance to the States, is exposed to the danger of being destroyed in time of war, and it has hitherto been subjected to perpetual injury and annoyance in time of peace. Our relations with Spain, which ought to be of the most friendly character, must always be placed in jeopardy while the existing Colonial Government over the island shall remain in its present condition.

"While the possession of the island would be of vast importance to the United States, its value to Spain is, comparatively, unimportant. Such was the relative situation of the parties when the great Napoleon transferred Louisiana to the United States. Jealous as he ever was of the national honour and interests of France, no person throughout the world has imputed blame to him for accepting a pecuniary equivalent for the cession.

"The publicity which has been given to our former negotiations upon this subject, and the large appropriation which may be required to effect the purpose, render it expedient, before making another attempt to renew the negotiation, that I should lay the whole subject before Congress. This is especially necessary, as it may become indispensable to success that I should be entrusted with the means of making an advance to the Spanish Government immediately after the signing of the treaty, without awaiting the ratification of it by the Senate. I am encouraged to make this suggestion by the example of Mr. Jefferson, previous to the purchase of Louisiana from France, and by that of Mr. Polk, in view of the acquisition of territory from Mexico. I refer the whole subject to Congress, and commend it to their careful consideration.

"I repeat the recommendation made in my Message of December last in favour of an appropriation 'to be paid to the Spanish Government for the purpose of distribution among the claimants in the Amistad case.' President Polk first made a similar recommendation in December 1847, and it was repeated by my immediate predecessor in December 1853. I entertain no doubt that indemnity is fairly due to these claimants under our treaty with Spain of the 27th of October 1795; and, while demanding justice, we ought to do justice. An appropriation promptly made for this purpose could not fail to exert a favourable influence on our negotiations with Spain."

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1859.

### NOTICE.

#### THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

WE beg respectfully to remind subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* that their annual subscription is now due, namely, Four Shillings for the stamped edition, and Three Shillings for the unstamped one. It would be a great convenience, and save us some expense, if our friends would remit the amount as soon as possible after it becomes due. Many neglect or omit to do so until late in the year, which renders it necessary for us to send a special application for payment of arrears, and not unfrequently to renew it several times. Whilst we take this opportunity of returning our sincere thanks for the support our Periodical continues to receive, we would suggest that actual subscribers should extend its circulation. We have the satisfaction of a considerably augmented list for the present year, but we need scarcely observe that its publication still entails a charge upon the general funds of the Society, from which it is our object to relieve it. In future, our Monthly Summary will form a prominent feature of interest in our Periodical, so that a perusal of it will place our readers in possession of the principal items of anti-slavery intelligence which we have been able to collate up to the time of going to press. We have frequently before solicited communications, and beg again to say we shall always feel happy to insert any that bear on the anti-slavery question, and that are suited to our columns.

Intending subscribers are solicited to send their orders direct to the Editor, at No. 27 New Broad St., E.C., London. Payments may be made in Postage-stamps, or by Post-office Orders, payable to Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, at the Post-office, Bishopsgate St. Within. By having their copies direct from the Society's Offices, subscribers will be spared the annoyance of delays in the delivery of their copies.

## AFRICAN FREE-LABOUR COTTON.

ABOUT a year ago, Governor Adams, of South Carolina, made use of the following remarkable words, in his annual message to the State Legislature :—

" Bring cotton down to three cents a pound, and there would be more abolitionists in South Carolina than in Massachusetts. If that can be brought about, in any way—and it is not impossible we may live to see it, as railways extend in India, and the French enlarge their free-labour plantations in Algiers—there will be an end to Slavery."

We presume Governor Adams means that the production of cotton by slave-labour will not pay, when its price in the European market falls to three halfpence a pound. Although this is probably an extreme limit—for it is questionable if it would pay to grow it at threepence—we may conclude that there is a point, below which, if the price of slave-labour cotton falls, its cultivation is ruinous. It is this conviction which renders us earnest in dwelling upon the importance, in an anti-slavery point of view, of promoting the development of the indigenous resources of tropical countries where free-labour is abundant, so that their products may enter into competition with those raised by the toil of the slave. Much has been said, and more written, on India as a cotton-field, and we agree in the main with those who advocate the direction of capital and energy to that vast and fruitful peninsula. But so much will have to be done, before enterprise can turn the soil to account, that we look with renewed hope towards Africa as a country already open, and which is even now competing with the Slave-States of America, in the production of raw cotton. A few days ago Mr. Consul Campbell addressed us, saying :

" African cotton is no myth. A vessel has just arrived from Lagos with 607 bales on board, *on native account*. Several hundred bales more have been previously shipped this year."

In order to afford our readers some idea of the extraordinary development of this branch of native-African industry and commerce, we append a statement which will exhibit it at a single glance. We have only to observe that we are indebted to Mr. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, for these interesting particulars, and that the quantities ordered have been obtained from Abbeokuta alone. He is about to extend the field of his operations. Four Europeans have gone out, expressly to trade in native cotton; and several London houses, encouraged by the success which has attended Mr. Clegg's experiment, are about to invest largely in the same traffic. The quantity of

raw cotton which has already been imported into England, from Abbeokuta, since 1851, is 276,235 lbs., and the trade has developed itself as follows :

1851—52	9	Bags or Bales	.	1810
1853 . .	37	ditto	.	4617
1854 . .	7	ditto	.	1588
1855 . .	14	ditto	.	1651
1856 . .	103	ditto	.	11,492
1857 . .	283	ditto	.	35,419
1858 . .	1819	ditto	.	220,099*

The last importation includes advices from Lagos up to the 1st of last November. Since that time, the presses and other machinery sent out, have been got into full work, and the quantity of the raw staple in stock has rapidly accumulated, the bulk shipped being on "native account." Each bag or bale weighs about 120 lbs. Let it be borne in mind that the whole of this quantity has been collected, all the labour performed and the responsibility borne, by native Africans; while the cost of production, Mr. Clegg informs us, does not exceed one halfpenny a pound in the end. It can be laid down in England at about  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, and sells at from 7d. to 9d.

Such a result is highly encouraging; and if the production of the raw staple only increase during the next ten years, in the same ratio as it has done during the last two only, Africa will be able of itself to supply this country with as much cotton as she needs.

## FREE-LABOUR MOVEMENT.

THE following correspondence will be read with interest by all who have the welfare of the negro at heart. It has arisen in consequence of a rumour that Messrs. Crewdson were about to relinquish the manufacture of free-labour cotton goods, but it will be seen that such is not their intention, although the encouragement they receive is really very small. Were the female head of every family in the kingdom, professing anti-slavery principles, to take this matter in hand, a stimulus would soon be imparted to the production of this class of goods, which would result in bringing larger supplies into the market. The successful prosecution of this movement rests exclusively with them, and we would most earnestly recommend them to do what is practicable in this direction, not so much because they may thereby hope materially to diminish the demand for slave-labour products, especially cotton fabrics, but as a

\* In this last quantity is included the number of bales afloat and on their way to this country.  
ED. A.-S. R.

consistent testimony against the system of Slavery, and as an example to others. This can only be done at a little outlay of time and trouble, which is abundantly compensated for in the enjoyment of the happy privilege of being exempt from giving encouragement to slave-labour. In connection with this subject, we beg to call attention to the advertisement, in our last page, of Jonas F. Browne and Co., who have long been engaged in developing the free-labour cotton goods trade.

Birmingham, Nov. 11.

SIR—A report having prevailed that you are about to discontinue, or have discontinued, the manufacture of calicoes from free-labour cotton, which has given much concern, I am commissioned, on behalf of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society*, to inquire from yourself whether there be any truth in this report, and to request your explanation on a subject which is of considerable interest to those ladies who have endeavoured to recommend the purchase of free-labour calicoes, relying on the continued supply of such articles under the sanction of your name. An early reply will oblige,

SIR,  
Your obedient servant,  
MARY R. MOORSON,  
Sec. to *Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society*.

Manchester, Nov. 23, 1858.

MADAM—Yours of the 11th of Nov. has been unanswered, in consequence of the absence from home of our Mr. Wilson Crewdson and myself.

We may, however, inform you, that we have on hand a considerable quantity of cloth manufactured from free-labour cotton, and that we have also some cotton not yet manufactured.

The demand has been so *very small*, (and within the last few years has so much decreased,) that it is not at all worth while, in a commercial point of view, to pursue this branch of business; but we feel so much interest in the cause which you are advocating, that we would willingly continue our endeavours to introduce free-labour cloths, provided we were seconded by those who have the welfare of the negro at heart. The want of this stimulus must account for not having sent out any fresh orders for cotton, and also for the report that we had given up its use.

With much respect,  
We are, Madam,  
Yours truly,  
Pro. the *Dacca Company*,  
(Signed) T. D. CREWDSON.

MRS. MOORSON.

#### THE EDINBURGH REVIEW AND LIBERIA.

MANY of our readers doubtless peruse the *Edinburgh Review*. In the number issued in October last, there appeared an article of considerable length, on the subject of *The Slave Trade*, the writer of which—it is to

be hoped in ignorance—attacked Liberia as a slave-trading country, and accused its ex-President, Mr. Roberts, of having been the agent of the notorious slave-trader Pedro Blanco, and some of the members of his family of connivance at the traffic in various ways. We took an early opportunity of expressing our belief that this charge was utterly unfounded, and forwarded our statement to parties who were likely to place it in the proper channel for reaching the Editor of the *Review*. It was our impression, and is now, that at a moment when the ex-President of Liberia, with its present chief magistrate and the authorities generally, are straining every nerve to prevent the agents of the Messrs. Regis and others from prosecuting their new slave-trade, under the guise of "immigration," and are thereby exposing the weak State they govern to the anger of an all-powerful and by no means scrupulous Government, and in perilling their own existence, such calumnies were calculated to be productive of the most serious mischief, and, by exciting indignation against the parties vilified, deprive them of the moral support they so sorely need from the friends of the anti-slavery cause. We have reason to know that ex-President Roberts will, in due time, formally deny the accusation. Meanwhile, we are glad to have an opportunity of publishing a letter on the subject, the writer of which has had every opportunity of acquainting himself with the state of things on that part of the African coast, but who solemnly declares that the charge against the ex-President is entirely unfounded.

London, December 18th, 1858.

"DEAR SIR,—In an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, entitled "The Slave Trade of 1858," there are several erroneous statements in regard to Liberia. The writer says, 'that from 1835 to 1840, the colony was one of the chief auxiliaries of the traffic it pretended to supersede,' and strongly intimates that such is still the case. He also says that 'the emigrants play the slaveholder over the native niggers; they complain that the Missionaries make the people insolent and restless; and they keep the cow-hide handy for application in nearly all families, by boys, women, and gentlemen of rank and standing, calling themselves Christians. The starving immigrants are sent up the rivers out of begging distance. The sick are hidden away in wattle huts when British vessels are looked for.'

"Having been for several years a Missionary from the United States, at Cape Palmas, on the territory of Liberia, I have had abundant opportunities of knowing that these charges are without foundation. In regard to the first, I am not able to speak from personal observation; but the fact of my never hearing a word said about it,

during the three years I spent in Liberia, though often thrown with naval officers and traders, who were too ready to make use of every thing calculated to injure the reputation of the people, satisfies me that there is no truth in the charge, and, for the past six years, I have had abundant opportunities of knowing that they have faithfully and successfully laboured to put a stop to the horrid traffic.

"Instead of Liberia being a promoter of the slave-trade, she has, within the thirty-eight years of her existence, entirely destroyed the traffic upon four or five hundred miles of the coast, from which, previous to the first colonial settlement, it was estimated that *eighty thousand* slaves were annually taken.

"In regard to the last charges, I can, from personal knowledge, say that they are without foundation. Instead of their being in a starving and almost barbarous condition, as this writer would have us believe, they are, in view of the great difficulties they have had to overcome, a prosperous people. Thirty years ago, the whole people were almost entirely uneducated, and destitute of means. Having to contend with a climate, for several years unsuited to their constitution, and having repeated wars with the thousands of savages that surrounded them, for many years they could barely exist. Now, though but one generation has passed away since the first settlement was made, the rising generation, for the most part children of those who were once slaves, is being generally educated, and in their schools the Bible is more constantly used as a text-book, than among any other nation of people upon the globe. A goodly number of the more intelligent and enterprising citizens have become very independent, if not wealthy. They have a very respectable and well-conducted government, which has been for the past eleven years entirely under their own control, and a more law-abiding people is scarcely to be found. During the three years of my residence among them, I did not hear of a single murder.

"A small duty on imports into the country pays the expenses of the Government, without a resort to direct taxation; and the exports from the country, consisting chiefly of native products, have greatly increased in the past few years; and there is good reason to believe that in a few years from this time a large amount of sugar and coffee will be exported from the Republic. Owing to the poverty of the people, upon their first settlement in the country, but little attention has been given to the cultivation of the soil, but now a goodly number are investing their capital in coffee, sugar, and cotton estates, which must, in a few years, yield handsome profits.

"The influence exerted by these twelve or thirteen thousand Liberians upon the two hundred thousand heathen, with whom they have been brought in contact, is very powerful for good, giving us abundant reason to hope that they will become most important agents in the evangelization of the continent of Africa. Already have many thousands of the heathen been compelled by the Liberian laws to abandon their most savage and cruel practices; and in this, by the way, they have set a good example to other and greater civilized nations.

"In conclusion, I will state that I have no connection whatever with the American Colonization Society, and have written this letter, with the hope that the testimony of a disinterested eyewitness may do something towards giving the English people some correct idea of this interesting and hopeful Republic.

"I remain, yours, &c.,

HUGH ROY SCOTT,  
Minister of Prot. Episc. Church  
in the United States of America."

L. A. Chamorovzow, Esq."

#### AFRICA.

THE following extract from a letter addressed by the Rev. Samuel Crowther to Mr. Consul Campbell, then in London, will be perused with much interest by all who are anxious for the advancement of civilization in Africa, and for the welfare of the people. British influence is found far more effectual than the extension of our territorial dominion, and legitimate commerce more potent than an armed force, in suppressing the slave-trade. The communication is dated from Rabba, 20th Sept. last.

"The chiefs at Saneiga, and the king and war chiefs of Ilorin, continue to behave themselves very much to their credit, and they do not cease to speak of your kind presents and messages to them at various times by your messengers; and even this very trip up here, the war chief of Ilorin sent Dr. Baikie a small sheep for a present by Kammo. as a token of remembrance: our messengers were never disturbed by any of their people.

"The system of your giving passports to people from the coast, Ilorin and to Rabba, is becoming generally known, and it has come to the knowledge of the King of Ilorin, and Sumo Zaki, the King of the Nupe, who is shortly expected to remove with Dassaba from Bida to the old town, Rabba. Soon after you sailed for England in June, some of the refugee slaves at Lagos got passports from the consulate as carriers to this place, which is the way to their Hausa country. When they were here with me one of the Foulah governors, who paid a visit to Rabba at that time, saw him, and asked from what place they came: so they told him their histories; that they were slaves to Portuguese on the coast, made their escape to Lagos, and took refuge at the consulate; and that it was through the influence of the British Government they were enabled to reach here; for the consul at Lagos gave them passports, forbidding any one to touch them. The governor soon recognised two of his own soldiers among the men, who were captured and sold away only as late as two years ago, during the revolutionary war in the Nupe country. 'Is it true that the English did so? I have lost forty men in that war, and I would gladly pay any thing to recover some of them.' Then he promised to tell all he had seen and heard to the King at Bida. I afterwards paid the governor a visit, and his gratitude for the restoration of these men was very great. There is a general expectation now of the return of a large number to the countries on and beyond the Niger, and it

will be a sad thing if any thing should prevent its accomplishment. The returned captured negroes, either from Sierra Leone, the Brazils, or Cuba, will be the means of doing much good in this country, as in Abbeokuta. There was never a better opportunity for the British Government to sow the seed of civilization on the banks of the Niger than at this time. The hopes of getting a large supply for the slave-trade on the coast, urged the people of Ibadan and Ilorin conjointly to undertake an expedition southward, in the Bight of Benin, and half-way inland from the Niger. Though they persevered and took many slaves, both they and the slaves died away in great numbers, and the expedition will be but a poor return after all, because it has involved immense loss of lives. If there were no opportunities to sell the slaves to the ships on the coast, and a profitable trade were opened to them, as at Abbeokuta, I believe the evil would be very much lessened, and, in course of time, give place to lawful commerce, as it is now at Abbeokuta. The difference between the inhabitants of the interior is very marked from those of Abbeokuta and Lagos. The latter are accumulating wealth through lawful commerce and active labour. The former are poor and miserable, scarcely having a garment to cover their naked body, but living upon plunder and robbery.

I hope your visit to England will tend to bring to light the real good that is done by the squadron on the coast, not so much by catching slavers as preventing the sale of a large number of slaves out of the country, and the protection it affords to lawful commerce, and to all the industrious inhabitants of the country. The farmer would have no safety in pursuing his agricultural labours, and the collector of palm-oil nuts would be afraid to range about the forest of palm-trees without fear, in collecting oil for the ships waiting to receive them on the coast. The newly introduced trade in cotton, which is gaining the attention of a large population of the interior, would be crushed in the bud if the influence of the squadron should no more be felt in the interior by its removal from the coast. On my passage from Rabba to the camp at Jeba, I met a man who had just then returned from Porto Novo. He told me that he had seen a smoke ship there, forbidding slave-trade. Though there is no catching of slavers in this case, yet the mere report of such a man tends very much to discourage others from taking slaves down to a part where he knows slave-trade is forbidden.

#### SLAVEHOLDERS IN COUNCIL.

We call the attention of the friends of freedom in this country to an attempt on the part of the slaveholders of Maryland to expel the 25,000 free negroes from that State, or to reduce them to the condition of slaves, and to which we have referred in our Monthly Summary. We quote the proceedings of a Convention held in the Court-house of Cambridge, Maryland, on the 3rd of November 1858, which was attended by delegates from the different counties, consisting of influential men from each district. They expressed themselves in the most explicit terms, to the

effect indicated above, and resolved to hold a State Convention in June 1859, the representatives to which, it was suggested, should be chosen from constituencies who are prepared to vote in favour of the projected scheme. We trust, however, before this packed meeting takes place, a cry will be raised against it on both sides of the Atlantic, so that the end may be frustrated; and instead of Slavery being rendered more secure, a blow will be given to the whole system, accelerating its fall.

From *The Baltimore American*, Nov. 5, 1858.

"In pursuance of meetings held in the various counties on the eastern shore of Maryland, a Convention of delegates assembled at the Court-house at Cambridge on Wednesday, Nov. 3, at two o'clock, P.M. After the preliminaries of appointing officers, &c.—

"Judge J. A. Stewart, of Dorchester, expressed his regret that this should be called a Slaveholders' Convention: he thought it was a mistake; that the whole population of the eastern shore was interested in this Convention. They did not come here to protect the interests of the slaveholder alone, but of all classes, by devising some means to govern the free negroes, who are an unproducing class, numbering in those counties not less than 25,000 souls. If they can be controlled and made available as a producing class, there will be no more trouble with the slaves. . . . The manumission of slaves has been a great error, and an evil to themselves as well as to the master and the slave. The free negroes must therefore gradually, and by the most reasonable steps, be brought back to their original condition. We must give them the permission to leave the State if they think proper; and if they choose to remain, we must take the responsibility of adopting some efficient means of restoring them to control and subjection. This should be the primary duty of the next Legislature, and they should meet it manfully and without hesitation, or else acknowledge to the world that they have not the energy and determination to protect their domestic institutions from gradual overthrow and destruction. He alluded to the futile efforts of the Colonization Society, which has already cost the State about a quarter of a million of dollars, all of which has been squandered and wasted. This having failed, it now becomes our duty to try some other means to cure the evil. . . . He regarded it the duty of the people to meet this question at once, boldly and manfully, and to elect their delegates to the next Legislature, fully instructed to take prompt and efficient action in the matter to procure a sufficient corrective. It is our duty, as *patriots*, as *Christians*, and as *friends of humanity*, to correct the evil. (1)

"Elias Griswold, Esq., of Dorchester, said: With regard to the manumission of slaves, he thought it a great evil, and was occasioned by a wrong view of masters, in their last moments, of their duties to their families. He regarded the position of a master as somewhat the same as a parent; that while the parent felt it to be a duty on his death-bed to provide guardians for his children, it was equally his duty to provide guardians for his slaves. The turning them on the community without a guide or protector was only

leaving to those who may come after them, and to their own children, a class of people who ultimately become paupers and nuisances to the whole community—a class of people unable to control their passions and unwilling to submit themselves to any subjection that will make them useful to themselves and the community. This must be remedied, and promptly and effectually remedied.

"The delegates from Somerset and Carolina declared that the desire in those counties is to check and curtail the free negro population.

"On the second day of the Convention the resolutions were introduced, and Colonel C. W. Jacobs, of Worcester County, thought they required something of a more effective and practical character; that the question of restoring the free negroes to servitude if they persisted in remaining in the State, should at once be avowed as the only remedy for the evils complained of; and to this end he proposed to offer an additional resolution for the consideration of the Convention.

The resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, were as follows. After a long preamble, setting forth the evils connected with the existence in the State of so large a body of free coloured people, 'their well-known tampering with slaves, and agency in inducing them to abscond from servitude,' &c.; and that, 'Whereas Maryland is, and of right ought to continue, a slaveholding State, true to the interests of her Southern sisters and herself; and whereas we, a portion of her citizens, wish to inaugurate a system of legislation having for its object not only the protection of slaveholders, undisturbed in their right of property, but also the better regulation of all negroes, bond and free, within her limits, as well for the interests of the white citizens as for that of the negroes themselves; therefore be it

"Resolved, That Free Negroism and Slavery are incompatible with each other, and should not be permitted longer to exist in their present relations, side by side, within the limits of the State.

"Resolved, That prompt and effective legislation upon this subject is absolutely essential to the interests of the people.

"Resolved, That although this Convention has not sufficiently considered the premises to enable them to recommend any particular plan to the action of the next General Assembly, yet they are satisfied that public sentiment is prepared for and desires relief from the evils under which we are now labouring, which relief, in the opinion of this body, can only be obtained by a general expression of feeling from the people of the State in general Convention assembled.

"Resolved, That in view of the above, the members of this body, citizens of the Eastern shore, deem it right and proper to call upon their brethren throughout the State, not as slaveholders or as non-slaveholders, but as citizens of the Commonwealth, to meet them in general Convention in the city of Baltimore, on the second Wednesday in June 1859, for the purpose of devising some system, to be presented to the Legislature of Maryland at its next session, having for its object the better regulation of the negro population of the State.

"Resolved, [That a Committee be appointed to prepare and circulate an address on the subject]; and further

"Resolved, That the vast increase of the free negro population of Maryland, their vicious habits, their refusal to labour, their incapacity for self-government, present sufficient motives for the call of the proposed Convention in the city of Baltimore; and we respectfully suggest that, as many of our citizens are fully convinced that the State should present the alternative to this class of population of going into Slavery or leaving the State, we therefore respectfully suggest that the citizens of the several counties and City of Baltimore, in selecting delegates to the said Convention, act in reference to this suggestion, and the said Convention when assembled to act upon this proposition.

"The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

Wm. GOLDSBOROUGH, President.

C. W. JACOBS, } Vice-Presidents.  
F. P. PHELPS,

Wm. S. WALKER, } Secretaries.  
H. G. GRIEVES,

#### THE "SPECTATOR ON" IMMIGRATION.

The *Spectator* has all along been a consistent opponent of the French scheme of immigration, and on the 13th of November last published an article on the labours of the Commission then recently appointed by the Emperor, to consider the objections and alleged advantages of the system. The Editor did not, however, confine himself to one branch of the subject, but enlarged upon the question of immigration generally, in connection with our own colonies, and the alleged want of labour there. The facts and arguments adduced are so much to the point, and so fully corroborate the views we have frequently expressed, that we feel it desirable to give them all the additional publicity in our power, and would beg our friends to endeavour to get Editors of provincial papers to reprint the article.

We observe that the Committee of the *Birmingham Ladies' Negros' Friend Society* have issued the paper, in a four-page tract, prefacing it with the following remarks :

WEST-INDIA LABOUR—AFRICAN AND COOLIE

EMIGRATION.

Birmingham, November, 1858.

"The results of negro emancipation in the West Indies, as affecting the supply of labour, and the question of importing immigrants from Africa and the East, have lately been subjects of deep interest and earnest controversy. The following article from the *Spectator* Newspaper, of November 13th, 1858, bears intrinsic evidence of a practical acquaintance with the subject in its several aspects, and is of the more importance from its not being written from an anti-slavery point of view. It so confirms the conclusion to which the Committee of the *Ladies' Negro's Friend Society* have arrived, from their correspondence with the West Indies, the subject not being one of a mere passing character, that they have much satisfaction in placing it before their friends and subscribers."

"If the Emperor of the French really desires to enter upon the investigation of the working of his immigration scheme, he had better do the thing thoroughly, and see that the wants of his colonies are supplied effectually, but in an unobjectionable way. Whether he goes into the study personally or by proxy, let him satisfy himself whether or not a sufficiency of labour can be obtained without creating the moral and material mischiefs—without awakening the bad passions, and inflicting the misery and death, and incurring the pecuniary losses—which have attended every scheme yet tried of introducing either African or Asiatic labourers into the sugar colonies.

"The Emperor proposes to turn at once to Asiatic countries for labourers, when once satisfied that his agents have been driving a slave-trade in Africa since 1852. He has the opportunity now of shewing himself wiser than the powers he has so long been offending in this matter of labour supply. He may now, by making his investigation thorough, prove the folly and needless wastefulness of the colonists of all nations who have imported Coolies and Chinamen, instead of using the labour which was growing up round their own plantations. We have no desire to gloss over the past conduct of the Emperor in regard to his African victims or his European neighbours. We have no thought of coaxing him or anybody into better behaviour in matters which are ancient subjects of treaty-stipulation. But, as he declares that his mind is in a more or less uncertain state as to the method of supplying his colonies with labour, it is evidently the moment for shewing what may be gained by carrying the inquiry a step further than he proposes. If he will cause it to be ascertained, distinctly and thoroughly, whether any importation of either negroes or coolies is wanted at all in his colonies, for the cultivation of existing estates, he may do something to compensate for the mischief and misery he has caused within the last six years.

"There can be no such difference between the French and English sugar colonies as to make it a mistake to argue from one to the other. We know enough, too, by means of this moribund French scheme, to satisfy us that the social and material elements are much the same in the two cases. In both there is a great deal of lapsed land, and a great deal of waste: in both there are encumbered estates, and all the evils which arise from an inadequate supply of capital; and everywhere the relations between planters and an emancipated race of labourers are alike in their main features. The planters in Martinique seem to be just like those in Jamaica and Trinidad, of whom we are told by their own neighbours that 'what they want is not labour, but *slave* labour.' It would be a great service for any man, Emperor or other, to render to the world, to prove that it is not slave-labour that is deficient in the sugar islands, but only that slave-labour which the planters crave.

"Much of the contradiction on this subject which fills columns in the *Times*, and puzzles the heads of people who are accustomed to agree with the last speaker, arises from the jumbling together of two things which are quite distinct. Do the French colonies want more labour to cultivate existing plantations, or to develop new resources? There seems to be no sort of doubt that in all the West-India colonies there are actually present more than enough labourers to cultivate all the land that is, or assumes to be, under tillage. As far as appears, nobody denies this. The complaints are, on the one hand, that the labour actually present cannot be made available; and, on the other, that wide regions, rich in natural wealth, lie waste, for want of hands to cultivate them. The French scheme, it appears, has been throughout directed to meet the first of these wants. Such is its profession; and the few of its victims who escaped to our colonies were employed on established plantations. When it is said that the colonies, English, French, or Dutch would absorb any quantity of labour that could be poured into them, the assertion is true, as applied to the whole area, with its forests, its mines, its wild savannahs, its coasts and harbours, its mountains and plains, with all the wealth they include. But it is not to develop these wilds that M. Regis has been purchasing negroes. The colonists generally want labourers for their fields and boiling-houses, and cocoa, coffee, and spice plantations. They have not capital enough for existing estates; and they are not the men to break up new land, and introduce new methods of industry. The cry for immigrants proceeds from the old race of planters, in all cases. Speculators who attempt new products, and buy up waste lands, or even lapsed estates, are not those who cry out for African negroes or Chinamen, to be obtained by taxing the colonial community. They estimate the cost of labour with other items of outlay, and, if fit for their business, set about obtaining a due supply in a natural and effectual way. All the evidence yet produced goes to shew that this class of colonists (including immigrant purchasers of lapsed plantations) are satisfied with the supply of indigenous labour, or prefer introducing, at their own discretion, what more they may desire. The demand on the French Government and on ours proceeds from the old race of planters: and their case is therefore the one to be attended to. Before the larger case can become at all pressing, there must be more capitalists in the field, more enterprise, more money appropriated to the development of the colonies than we hear of yet; and it will be time enough to see about the labourers when the schemes have taken form, and the capital is obtained.

"Attending to existing things alone, it is plain that wherever West-India employers desire to get their work done, without any *arrière pensée*, without prejudices, without crotchets, or compli-

cation of any kind, they can and do get it done. If in Jamaica—the least prosperous and most mismanaged of our colonies—there are 75,000 able-bodied men (to say nothing of as many women) who work effectually and profitably for themselves or somebody else, while the existing plantations employ only 30,000, there can be no difficulty anywhere in obtaining hands to any extent required. There is no difficulty to those who observe the natural conditions of the case; who, in other words, employ labourers continuously, or with sufficient regularity to command their services when most required; who pay sufficient wages, and pay them regularly; and who provide accommodation on the spot for as many people as they employ. The planters who cry out for Africans or Coolies are those who will send away labourers who have come several miles, without giving them work, or promising them any, and who are amazed and wrathful when, at another season, the same people will not leave their own crops to perish, at the call of an irregular employer. Planters who drive labourers to land of their own for a subsistence cannot demand or dismiss that labourer at pleasure; and hence the desire for immigrants. But there is always a multitude of the labouring class who, for many reasons, prefer working on estates; and would do so with more than the regularity and diligence obtainable from raw immigrants, on the simple condition of just and reasonable treatment. It is probably the case in the French, as in the English colonies, that the yearly production of sugar is on the increase from the lands of the negroes. This class had first to earn their land, and to build their houses (to which they have added the support of chapels and schools), so that it was some years before they entered the market as sugar producers. But now, after largely augmenting the supplies of food at home, and selling other products than the great staple, they seem to be sending more and more sugar into the market as their objects are achieved. It is for the planters to consider how this could have happened if the indigenous negro will not work; and how it is that their inferiors are prospering as sugar-growers, while they themselves cannot get on. They and the Emperor will, if they honestly investigate the case, come to the conclusion that it is not any immigration from Africa or Asia, that will mend their affairs, without other remedies which would probably shew them that they are better without the Coolies.

" For the device of Coolie immigration is thriftless and unfortunate in the extreme, except when it is a spontaneous migration to some not-distant country, the conditions of which are understood beforehand. The mortality at sea, and the wrongs on shore which recently induced the American Ambassador in the China seas to issue his proclamation against the practices of American ships engaged in the traffic, are a fitting

presage of the fate of the strangers in the sugar colonies. There they lead an unnatural life, and die a forlorn death. They are idle, diseased, vagabond, alien in every way to the two populations between whom they are introduced. What is more to the purpose of the French Emperor's inquiry, they are very costly, from first to last. They cost the planter 2s. a day for a miserable day's labour; whereas for 1s. 6d. a day the employers might command any amount of labour, of a better kind than slaves and Coolie strangers ever have to give.

" While pondering these things, let the Emperor or his proxies attend to the material prosperity of our sugar colonies. Let him look even at Antigua, where no Asiatic or African labourer has ever been landed,—and only a fraction of the labourers are Portuguese, who have entered of their own accord. With only the former supply of labourers the production of sugar has increased under many disadvantages. Even the unhappy Jamaica is rising, in the midst of a vast labouring class which she will not employ. As for the whole set (not including prosperous Mauritius), they produce more sugar now than in the latter days of Slavery, while every other product is greatly increased; and the social amelioration far exceeds even this encouraging material progress. The French colonies may rise faster still, if they will take a lesson from our experience of the costliness of all but indigenous labour, and of the sufficiency of that resource when husbanded by the use of scientific and mechanical aids."

#### MRS. H. B. STOWE ON PRO-SLAVERY ADVOCATES.\*

OUR readers will, we think, be pleased to see reproduced in our columns two remarkable addresses from the distinguished authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, on the *American Board*

\* The pro-slavery tendencies and character of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have often been the subject of grievous concern to friends of the slave in this country and America. The most positive proof of this character has been the course pursued in the Cherokee and Choctaw Indian nations, where not only was silence maintained against the sin of Slavery, but converts were admitted to the churches who held slaves the severe slave-laws of those nations. And now, writes Dr. Cheever, "It has been announced that a new Slave State is to be presented for admission into the Union, embracing the territory of the Choctaws and Cherokees, under the teachings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It would seem that those teachings have had no little influence in bringing about this event, and consequently a most serious question presents itself as to the attitude and responsibility of the Board in this matter. . . . It cannot be questioned, that if, from the outset the Gospel had been set plainly against this sin, the sin, and not the Gospel, would have been abandoned." (Ed.)

*of Foreign Missions and the American Tract Society.* These organizations stand in the way of anti-slavery progress in the United States, but they have, nevertheless, found advocates on this side of the Atlantic, and, the former, even actual co-operation, as to wit, in the support which has been given to its auxiliary, the *Turkish Missions Aid Society*. These articles have been for some time standing over, owing to the pressure upon our space. They occupy a good many of our columns, but the importance of the subjects they treat of is so great, the rebuke they convey is so well merited and so powerful, and the Societies implicated are such unblushing delinquents, that we feel we cannot render more effectual service to the cause than by re-printing them at length. They are both extracted from the *New-York Independent* of September last.

"MRS H. B. STOWE ON THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"The temptations which beset the good and pure in this world increase in refinement and subtlety in proportion to the rise of their moral nature. Milton calls the love of fame 'the last infirmity of noble minds.' But when this infirmity has been confessed and deplored—when this and every other merely selfish motive has been formally renounced as a spring of action, and the Christian has taken the glory of God and the good of man for his object—nay, often when he is living a life apparently as wholly unselfish and disinterested as it is possible to conceive—another and more refined form of egotism slides quietly into the soul, as if the Great Deceiver adroitly should draw out one shade of a magic lantern and introduce another.

"Self invests itself in an object, impersonates itself in an enterprise, into which a man puts all his personal feelings, and which thenceforth rises for him into a magnitude scarcely conceivable before, till at length it eclipses any thing else, and the man is an egotist of the most intense kind without knowing it.

This egotism is all the worse for being intellectually and syllogistically fortified; as thus :

"Whatever is for God's glory must be paramount.

"This — is for God's glory.

"Therefore this — must be paramount.

"Fill the blank with—scheme of doctrine—plan of philanthropy—institution—society for, &c., and you have here the great Jesuitical syllogism on which the Devil has relied in all ages for corrupting noble minds.

"When Torquemanda wanted to work on the womanly heart of Isabella of Spain, and get from her a decree that condemned thousands of her most innocent and industrious subjects to rack, fire, and sword, he put her heart into this syllogistic vice, and turned the inevitable crank till he wrung compliance like life-blood out of it, and the most motherly and gentle of all women did the work of a persecuting fiend.

"When the Jesuits wanted to get into Japan to preach the *Gospel*, they could only enter by trampling on the cross and denying Christ. They used this same all-conquering syllogism,

and denied Christ, to begin with, that they might get a right to build up his kingdom. Were there no good men among the Jesuits—no souls flaming like a torch with disinterested love to God and man? Witness Francis Xavier's burning course his burning words :

"My God, I love thee, not because  
I hope for heaven thereby;  
Nor because they who love thee not  
Must burn eternally:  
But I have loved thee, and will love,  
And in thy praise will sing,  
Solely because thou art my Lord,  
And my eternal King.

Witness the less known but apostolic labours o' Father Peter Cluver among the poor negroes in South America. Disinterestedness and devotion could go no farther. What was the corrupting force in an order which embraced in it the zeal of apostles and the holy fervour of prophets?

"It lay in the assent to the minor proposition of this eternal syllogism of corruption: *The Society of Jesus is for the glory of God.*" Therefore —. And upon that therefore comes every compliance that disgraces Christianity and trails the honour of God in the dust.

"In the mind of Loyola, the Romish Church occupied the minor proposition of the syllogism, and the Society of Jesus was subsidiary. It was a buttress to falling Romanism; but his followers, with the enthusiasm which exalts a means far above the thing it was designed to promote, made the buttress the main body of the church. In America the same process has been insidiously going on. A splendid set of theologians, princes among men, taught to New England the sublime doctrine of disinterested devotion to the glory of God as displayed in the good of man. From this arose, like stars in their orbits, schemes of grand benevolence. The Foreign Mission enterprise was born, and the morning stars sang together. In many a lone'y cottage of Vermont, in the valleys of the Merrimac and Connecticut, in the lovely sea-washed fisherman villages of the New-England coast, there came a grand awakening of the feeling of universal brotherhood, and ignorant and unlettered men became suddenly wide-minded and thoughtful, because on every shore of earth there lived a brother, whose language, climate, habits of life, were invested with a new interest. The *Missionary Herald* carried into every farm-house an amount of geographic and scientific information beyond what any other means probably ever did. The most celebrated of German geographers has paid a merited tribute to the scientific and literary character, to the energy and intelligence of American Missionaries whom he found in different countries, and to whom he acknowledges himself indebted for much of his most reliable information in regard to those countries. We are willing to believe that never was a great institution managed by more unselfish men. We are far from joining in the cry of *unprincipled proceeding* which has been raised. There has been abundance of principle: no men ever could have acted more carefully, more advisedly, and with less regard to self. Any of the men who conduct it could at any time have gained better livelihoods in another profession, if that had been their object.

"We do not complain of want of principle; but the principle has not been entirely of the right kind. We do conceive, that with all their goodness and care, the Deceiver has slipped quietly the false slide into the magic lantern; and thus the American Board has been placed in the mirror of that great sophistical syllogism out of which has been cranked so much Jesuitry.

"The Missionary work could not have been carried on among the Indians if they had openly opposed Slavery," it is said, "The Jesuits said, 'We cannot get into Japan without trampling on the cross.' In both cases the illusion was, 'When we do get in, and get powerful, we will right things up.' We know what the result was in Japan; what sort of Christianity it was that denied itself in the outset; and we see now what kind of Christianity has been introduced among the Indians.

"A new Slave State is to be formed of this race of whom our Missionaries have so many years been the teachers; and their laws in regard to Slavery are to the full as savage and contrary to the Gospel as those defended by the other anti-Christian Churches of the South.

"A new Slave State! What a moment for Mills, and Newell, and Judson to look down on from heaven! And now the Board wish quietly to withdraw from the responsibility of their *protégé*.

"Suppose our Missionaries had gone into States as John G. Fee goes in Kentucky, proclaiming the true Gospel of liberty to the captive, and opening of the prison to them that are bound; founding churches on principles of strict anti-slavery communion. They would have been driven out, say you? How do we know? Fee is not driven out of Kentucky. One lone unaided man, with no organized body at his back—with nothing for him but truth and God (alas, that we should always count God as nothing!) John G. Fee is fighting in Kentucky the battle which we weep that it was not given to us and ours to fight in the Indian territories. He is fighting it successfully: necessities, afflictions, distresses, only make him stronger. Anti-slavery Churches are rising round him, feeble indeed in their beginning, but mighty in moral force; and every inch which Christianity seems to gain under such auspices, she really does gain.

"All progress in moral things founded on compromise with evil is like the advance of a runner who is tied to a post by an India-rubber band: he may seem to go on, but the moment he rests, snap comes the pull of a recoil, and all goes back.

"When the American Board lets go responsibility for these churches, how long will it be before the multiplied vices engendered by Slavery, the licentiousness, the cruelty, the habitual dishonesty, will sweep, a polluted flood, overwhelming all that they have done? And deny, dispute it as they may, it will for ever go forth to Christendom—'This Slave State was educated by the American Board.'

"They may say they did not mean it to be so—that they have stood as Abolitionists in their places—that they have done all they could to keep them—that they remonstrated against the sinful laws, and practically disregarded them. We readily appreciate all this. It is sad, that

doing so much, they did not do the only thing that could have been of any real use. We dispute not that all concerned in the matter have been sincerely in the wrong. But the sincere error of the worthiest captain may wreck a ship with a thousand souls on board; and it is, of all our sad estate here, the mournfullest item, that good men may be left by their mistakes to imperil the good for which they would gladly die.

"But something we must learn from our errors. We must not, because good men have been mistaken, deny or conceal the magnitude of the mistake. We must take wisdom to our bosoms from the sad lessons of experience.

"*We have lost the Indians.* We thought to have civilized and Christianized them, and we depart and leave them in the clutches of a system which in due time eats all the Christianity out of the heart of the best-instructed and most intelligent communities. We leave them in the clutches of a system that has barbarized Virginia and run out the soil of the Carolinas,

"WE HAVE LOST THE INDIANS. All the prayers and tears of our fathers and mothers departed—all the efforts of Missionaries of whom the world is not worthy—all the purity and apostolic zeal of Evarts, second to no Xavier or Cluver—all these will not save them. Down they will go—into ignorance, into barbarism, into degradation, drawn down by the mill-stone which has sunk stronger states, which we have suffered to be fastened on their necks. God is a terrible logician: He never stops between premise and conclusion, nor stays the consequences of a sophistry for the best of men. And the slightest spot or stain of sin He has fastened with an infinite certainty to endless consequences. A man once lost a fortune simply by saying 'Once one is two' in the beginning of a calculation—an error slight indeed, but having in it the seeds of a disorder infinite as the power of figures.

"Let us beware in time. This error runs through all our great Societies. If we place their safety before God's glory, He will dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel.

'God's glory is a wondrous thing,  
Most strange in all its ways,  
And, of all things on earth, least like  
What men agree to praise.'

The church has idols—Societies and enterprises are her idols: she is thinking of them more than of God. Let us not be high-minded, but fear. The language of anniversaries, the self-glorifications of our great meetings, is not the language of safety. We are in danger, and need to watch and be humble.

'Workmen of God, O lose not heart,  
But learn what God is like,  
And in the darkest battle-field  
Thou shalt know when to strike.  
And bless'd is he who can divine  
Where the *real* right doth lie.  
And dares to take the side that seems  
Wrong to man's blindfold eye.  
O learn to scorn the praise of men!  
*O learn to love with God!*  
For Jesus won the world through shame,  
And beckons us the road.' H. B. S.

The next is on the course of the Rev. Dr. Monod with reference to the *American Tract Society*, which, it is known, will not publish any thing against Slavery.

## DR. MONOD AND THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

A little while since, *The Independent* had the pleasure of publishing a circular signed by all the pastors and elders in France and Switzerland against the sin of Slavery.

"One of the earliest names appended to this letter was that of the Rev. Frederick Monod, brother of the late lamented Horace [Adolphe?] Monod, and probably no one signed with more hearty goodwill.

"In this letter, the American Churches were addressed in tones of earnest and alarmed expostulation. The letter said, practically, 'Brethren in America, what mean you by your complicity with Slavery? Your example is endangering the very foundations of the Protestant faith, and bringing shame on us who profess it. We are told that the greatest Protestant nation on earth defends Slavery, and this is made an argument by infidels against the Christian religion itself. Pray awaken! take more decided measures, and oppose this threatening evil.'

"Well, the American Church, though very slowly, had awokened—awakened to the fact that every one of the organized means through which they could address remonstrance and instruction or argument to the Christian community, had come so far into possession of the slave-power, that not a word could be published against it by one of them.

"The Sunday-School Union, the Tract Society, supported by the funds of the Christian Church, were pledged to say nothing about it. Nay, more: there was practised a systematic plan of revision and mutilation, by which every book borrowed from foreign lands, or from the wisdom of past ages, was skilfully deprived of every passage which expressed or implied a rebuke of Slavery. If a good woman, like Mary Lundie Duncan, celebrated the anniversary of West India Emancipation with thanks to God that the lash of the driver and the shrieks of the slave were no longer heard, that passage, so worthy of a noble Englishwoman's heart, was omitted.

"If Dr. Cotton Mather, in his essays to do good, recognises as an evil the institution which our pious fathers, many of them, regarded with horror, that passage is smoothly effaced. If Dr. Harris of England, enumerating the sins of the age, classes Slavery among them, the word Slavery is dropped out. The system thus practised was in fact slowly and gradually wiping out all testimony against Slavery from the religious literature of the land, wiping it out with a sponge dipped in the waters of the sanctuary, as if the testimony had been a sin which needed ablution.\*

"Even political men, men of the world, were crying out shame upon this course, as cowardly and unchristian, and the church was beginning to see that her children were being brought up on a literature which gave them not the slightest preparation against the demoralizing influence that was ruining the church and country, and which, by its silence, gave it the strongest form of support. For be it remembered, that Slavery was the only form of immorality against which the Society refused to testify. It had tracts against gambling, against theatre-going, against licentiousness; it had abundant warnings on the sin-

fulness of dancing; it was only on Slavery that it was silent.

"So the church, as exhorted by her French brethren, was awaking to remedy this evil, and to insist that the Tract Society should testify at least against the sins induced by Slavery, and the moral duties growing out of it, if they could not speak against Slavery itself!

"In our own private view, this was a mistake. There are some cases where it is best to begin an attack by taking the weakest and most exposed point; but this, it appears to us, was not one of them. No more clamour, no more opposition could have come, had the requirement been that the tract should be on the *sin of Slavery*. . . . The taking of this position would have had an immeasurable force as a testimony against Slavery, and a battle lost on such a position would have had more worth than a battle won on ground less decided.

"However, the slave-power, which concedes nothing, raged at counsels about the duties and sins growing out of Slavery, as much as remonstrance with the thing itself, and the Committee stood still, and refused to publish. The next meeting of the Society, as every one knows, was a mob meeting, where all discussion was violently put down, and every thing overruled by a packed majority, secured principally in New-York city, which has always been the stronghold of Slavery.

"Dr. Monod, it appears, in his journey in this country, consorted mainly with the party who have always been for the suppression of all agitation against Slavery, and on his return to Paris, we find him sounding through the French churches that cry of 'Peace, peace,' for which our French brethren, and he among the number, have expostulated with us. Dr. Monod is editor of a paper called *Archives du Christianisme*, and in it he gives the following statement of these events to the French churches:

"It will be recollect that the Society, at its meeting in 1857, had recommended to the Executive Committee to publish tracts 'on the moral duties which result from Slavery, and also on the moral evils and vices which grow out of Slavery.' Shortly afterwards, the Committee set themselves to comply with this recommendation, and procured a tract on the duties of masters to their slaves. This tract, which is before us, does not contain a word that could reasonably offend any body, and does not touch the principle of Slavery, nor its political applications. But such is the feverish susceptibility of Christians at the South, that they would be roused as one man, if the Society should publish the tract in question, and the whole South would withdraw their countenance, and thus the field of labour would be lessened one-half; that is to say, this magnificent Society, whose gigantic labours God has so abundantly blessed, would be almost annihilated. Before such an evil, the Committee very properly paused, and referred the matter to the meeting of the Society. This was the only way to shew their respect for the Society's decisions, and to screen themselves from a heavy personal responsibility. The event proved that the Committee were not deceived in the course, at once Christian, honourable, and prudent, which they took; for at a meeting of

the Society in May last—one of the largest meetings ever assembled, composed exclusively of members having a right to vote—a very large majority sanctioned their doings by adopting and approving the report, and continuing the entire Committee in office. A small minority had, both beforehand and during the meeting, done their utmost to oppose them, and to appoint a new Committee who should, at all hazards, publish tracts on Slavery.\*

"In the gratifying result which has been reached, and for which we give thanks to God, no judgment on Slavery itself is implied. If there had been, no one would have more ardently deplored it than ourself. The question was not, Is Slavery compatible or not with the Gospel; nor, Is it the duty of Christians to oppose it as a great moral evil? But, Is it the duty of the Tract Society, *as such*, to treat the subject of Slavery in its publications, at the risk of dismembering a Society which is, in the hand of God, one of the most powerful and blessed instruments for the propagation of the Gospel in the wide extent of the United States, and, consequently, one of the surest means also, though indirect, of promoting the abolition of Slavery? This question we do not hesitate to answer as the Committee have done: just as we would oppose the publication by the Paris Religious Tract Society of controversial tracts against the Romish Church, though no one will suspect us of the least favourable tendency to that church. As an individual, and under our own responsibility, we preserve full and entire liberty; but as a member of the Committee of the Paris Tract Society, our duty is to abstain. So in the case of the American Tract Society. Among the numerous and distinguished Christians who voted with the majority are many who yield to none in their opposition to Slavery, who shew it, and still will shew it; only they are persuaded, with us, that in view of the circumstances, the duty of the Tract Society, as such, is to abstain from this exciting topic. We may sigh over it, we do sigh over it; our conviction of the evil is no less positive, nor less firm. The subscriber, having lately seen things with his eyes, and heard with his ears, as well in the South as in the North, his conviction deserves, perhaps, some consideration. There is, then, in this decision of the Tract Society, nothing which can justly be taxed with perfidy, pusillanimity, nor which ought to draw upon the Committee the least blame. Two opposite opinions, equally distinct, equally conscientious, existed; a very large majority gave, after long and earnest debate, their approbation to the course pursued by the Committee: no one believed that all the faith, all the fear of God, all the opposition to Slavery, were confined to the ranks of the small minority who opposed the resolution taken, and whose opinion we respect, without adopting it. We pray God to continue to bless, as He has done hitherto, the extensive

and evangelical labours of the American Tract Society, and to render thanks to Him for having delivered it from the serious danger with which it was threatened.

*'FRED. MONOD, Pastor.'*

"Of this passage we have certain things to say.

"1. Dr. Monod has, it appears, taken his statement entirely and unquestionably *from one side*, without inquiry or investigation from the other. Had Dr. Monod talked with Dr. Cheever or Dr. Bacon, and allowed their views to modify the statements made to him, he could never have written what he has.

"2nd. Dr. Monod is mistaken in calling the dissenting party a 'small minority.' We know that he takes and reads *The Independent*, and if he will be so good as to investigate its columns on this point, he will find record of the protests of churches all over the Free States—churches, who, as their French brethren, exhorted men to lift up their voice against the evil which endangers Christianity itself. All the New-England churches, the great majority of churches in New York, and all the North-western States, comprising, undoubtedly, a vast majority of the evangelical church-members throughout the country, are in full sympathy with this protest against the iniquitous transactions of that meeting.\*

"3rd. But if every church in the United States agreed in this resolution, and joined it, and Slavery is what Dr. Monod and the French ministers stated it to be in their letter to us, if it is the gigantic evil of the nineteenth century, if the complicity of American churches in it brings disgrace on the Protestant cause in Europe, and give infidels their most powerful weapon against Christianity, then ought Dr. Monod and every French Protestant to mourn in sackcloth and ashes for such a calamity! Dr. Monod thinks it gratifying that such a result implies no judgment on Slavery.

"What! erase every protest, every particle of instruction, remonstrance, or insinuation against such an evil from the whole religious literature of a country, and call that *not* expressing any *opinion*? And suppose it were *not* expressing an *opinion*, is that what Dr. Monod and our French brethren have been exhorting us to do? Have they not been calling on us to *express* an opinion—nay, more, to fight with all the power within us—to fight as for our lives against Slavery.

"If the organized religious literature of a country is not to be used against a moral evil, what shall we use? This is much like sending a distressed letter to a fort where soldiers are sleeping under arms: 'Brethren, rouse, for Heaven's sake—the city is being taken—and you sleep!'

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\* "A later issue of the *New-York Independent* states that 'the Memoir of Mrs. Isabella Graham, in the Tract Society's edition, has been purged of the testimony against Slavery given in the first edition,' and adds, 'The Church of God has a right to know who has thus mutilated one of its most precious treasures.'"

Then, when every man springs to his guns, they cry, 'O for pity's sake, don't use your guns; they'll be an explosion—just combat! fight generally!'

" So our French brethren cry, 'Rouse—fight,' but when the great gun of the Tract Society is spiked, they will take off their hats and thank God, because there would have been such a noise had it gone off!

" Dr. Monod, without knowing it, is going the rounds of every pro-slavery paper as an advocate of Slavery. For he is not the only advocate of Slavery who defends it; but he who will have nothing said against it. Everybody hates Slavery in the abstract; everybody condemns till they think they have some reason to the contrary, and then they are silent.

" Does Dr. Monod wish to know how the American church got into her present helpless state? By this very silence which he thinks so wise. Because each organization, each church, each college, each school, each private individual, had something or other to do, which they thought valuable or useful, and which could not be done if that exciting topic was broached: that was all.

" When we were in Paris last year, French brethren, with all their national warmth, said, Pray tell us what can be the matter with your American churches, how can they be silent, how can they consent in any way to be connected with such a system?

" We answer, They are connected with it as we much fear our French churches are becoming connected with it. They want to carry on plans in themselves valuable and useful. They want means and money, and men say, 'Be silent about Slavery,' and we will help you. In otherwise, Satan comes to Christ's affianced bride, not grim and sooty, but as a polished and religious Christian, and says, 'Fair Lady, I will build your walls, and set up your gates, and garnish all your borders with precious stones. I will build all your waste places, only be silent on one thing, where your speaking would be death to me. I don't forbid you to pray, nor to have your own private opinion, nor to abhor: your may abhor to your heart's content, but testify you must not.'

" If the waste places in French churches are to be built by such compliance, France will have deeper occasion to mourn than now she does. Infidels will say, 'Just as we told you; all religions alike betray the cause of freedom to carry their own points.'

" The influence of this is the more unfortunate, because even politicians, men of the world, from the mere influence of natural generosity and conscience, have often been more consistent.

" When certain leading Democrats in the Free State of Ohio, whose prospects among their Irish voters had been disturbed by Daniel O'Connell's denunciation of Slavery, sent money to him to help his favourite projects of agitation for Irish liberty, and promised to send more, if he would be silent about Slavery, he indignantly returned the donation, telling them that he wanted none of their blood-stained money. In vain they protested, that, being inhabitants of a Free State, they had no personal interest in Slavery, but only wished silence for the general good. He answered, that they had all the less excuse, and that their desire to protect Slavery,

from his denunciations must arise from 'clear, sheer disinterested love of wickedness.'

" Let Dr. Monod only see how this course of silence which he so much applauds in the Tract Society works. He and all the French brethren conjure us, in the name of a common Christianity, to fight against Slavery. We try—fight accordingly, and we come to the Tract Society—a great religious organization, representing the religious literature of every denomination in the country, and having access to millions of minds. Will you circulate or protest? say we. Oh, no! we can't; we are anti-slavery, to be sure, but we can't, because the excitement would injure our Society. We go to the Sunday-School Union, which forms the youthful religious literature of the whole American churches. Can we get some books published here which shall indoctrinate the rising generation in the evils of Slavery and the wrongs of the slave? Oh, no, no, no! To be sure, the wrongs of the slave are dreadful, and we are all strong anti-slavery men, but the topic is so exciting it would ruin our Union. So we go to the Methodist Book Concern—to the Baptist Book Concern—to the Episcopal Book Concern—and you get the same story. Then you think you will go to individual men, and you try Dr. A. You tell him stories of wrong and oppression enough to raise the dead, and he shudders and turns pale, and then you ask him, Will you write or give a public address on the subject? My dear friend, he says, I would be glad to, but I am connected with a Theological Seminary, and if I mix myself with so exciting a topic, it would in a measure involve my institution, and so I must content myself with privately abhorring. Another is pastor of a church, and he cannot say any thing. Another is a teacher in an academy. Another is something else: and the result is, that all the work of organizing, printing, circulating, is left to the men who, in their fierce disgust, leave all churches, and denounce them, and stand wholly aloof from all religious connection, and are called infidels.

" This course of silence makes such infidels by the score; makes them of some of the most generous, most humane, most courageous men. Ah! how many such has the American church expelled from her bosom by this accursed policy?

" We hope and trust that the French churches will beware in time of the rock on which the American church has wellnigh foundered, and say: 'O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!'

We have only to add, that both the foregoing addresses have been recently reprinted, in tract form, by the *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*, for sale at 5s. and 4s. per hundred. They have also reprinted the *Underground Railroad*, with new illustrations.

#### BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

#### BIRMINGHAM LADIES' NEGRO'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

THE Quarterly Meeting of the above Society was held at the usual time, in November last, and was well attended, many ladies being

present who had not previously taken any part in such Meetings.

The business consisted of the presentation of Reports from Committees; one on the distribution of the pamphlet, *How to abolish Slavery in America, and prevent a cotton famine in England*. Opportune to this, a *Report of the Cotton-Supply Association* that had been forwarded to the Secretary was laid on the table, containing communications to the Association from parties in various settlements in Africa, &c. Acknowledgments of grants to the West-India schools were read, and applications for aid from new places presented. The reported giving up of the French immigration scheme afforded much satisfaction to the Meeting, though lessened by the proposal for coolie importation, as this Society is in possession of abundant evidence of the failure of such projects, and the misery resulting therefrom. John Scoble, the late able Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* in London, who visited the West Indies during the time of the apprenticeship, having been invited to attend, then addressed the Meeting, giving much information on the state of the coloured people in Canada (where he has been residing for five years), and the opportunity afforded them in that country of quietly making a livelihood, &c. Mr. Scoble gave also a lucid account of the different parties in America, and held out the hope of anti-slavery principles spreading there. He reviewed the past, and spoke of the advance that had been made since the period when 100,000 slaves were annually taken into Brazil, representing the capture of 200,000 more; spoke of the fine race of Mandigos in Pernambuco, and the elements for freedom in Brazil existing in the superiority of their character. He encouraged the ladies to continue their efforts, remarking that not a single Meeting could be held nor a single sovereign bestowed without result; spoke of an interview with Consul Campbell, of Lagos, who came home on leave of absence from his post, from his anxiety to assist the rapidly-developing trade in African products. Mr. Campbell has given important assistance to Mr. Clegg in his cotton-growing enterprise at Tunis and other places, and has lately addressed an important communication to the present Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, which has appeared in the *Reporter*.

**NEWCASTLE AND GATESHEAD ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

THIS Society, which has recently been reconstituted, in association with the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, has issued the following circular. It is headed

**THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE SLAVERY QUESTION.**

"The members of the *Newcastle and Gateshead Anti-Slavery Society* think it advisable to issue a short statement of the present position of the great Slavery question, by which it may be seen why, at this time, the cause demands support; why this Society should have been resuscitated; and what claims it has upon the public for assistance.

"In surveying this question, there is much to call for devout thankfulness in the success which has hitherto attended the labours of the abolitionist, and in the progress which the movement has made. We see that the slave-trade to Brazil, for long a matter of anxiety and care to our Government and to the friends of this cause, has been put an end to by the Brazilian Government, and that a Society has been established at Rio to contend against the inter-provincial and coastwise slave-trades, which, though disengaged by the Government, continue to flourish to a considerable extent; that the Emperor of Russia has taken means for the emancipation of the serfs throughout his extensive dominions; and that it has been decided to liberate the slaves in the colonies belonging to Portugal and Holland: but, on the other hand, we regret that the traffic in negroes to Cuba is being pursued with unwonted activity; and that the French, under the name of free immigration of Africans to their West-Indian colonies, have revived, we fear to a very large extent, the old and hateful slave-trade, with all its attendant horrors.

"It is right at this point to refer to the important labours of Mr. T. Clegg, of Manchester, in developing the native trade upon the Western coast of Africa. Some eight years ago, the whole quantity of cotton exported from thence did not exceed 300lbs. weight; in 1856, 33,495lbs. were exported; and the crop for last year was estimated as likely to yield 4,000,000lbs. The annual exportation of palm-oil is also much increased. This will probably have a two-fold advantage: labourers will become so valuable at home that the immigration system will be put a stop to; and the native cotton entering into competition with that from the United States will so lessen its value, as to render the keeping of slaves unprofitable. This aspect of the Slavery question, as also that which will probably arise ere long relative to the cultivation of cotton in India, will meet with the careful consideration and support of this Society. At the same time we would respectfully remind each individual of the community, that by endeavouring to obtain and regularly use free-labour produce, he would materially aid this work.

"But the Slavery most directly interesting us as Englishmen, is that existing in the United States of America. Here this is the great question of the day, the great question indeed of the Republic's history. But we feel it a very delicate and difficult matter for a local English Society to interfere with. Isolated effort in such a cause might be only time and money thrown away, well meaningly but fruitlessly. We therefore think it desirable for this Association to be in intimate communication with the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, which has extensive means

of obtaining information as to this question, and which we believe has carefully weighed and considered it in all its aspects.

"Having thus brought briefly together the facts which constitute our reasons for re-organizing the *Newcastle* and *Gateshead Anti-Slavery Society*, we would respectfully but earnestly urge its claims for support and assistance on our fellow-townsmen. We know that there are those who say, that when we had freed our own slaves, the work, so far as England was concerned, was accomplished. But we know, also, that we are enjoined to 'remember those in bonds as bound with them'; and though our effort may seem small, we look confidently for the guidance and aid of a God of Justice and Love, and trust that in his hands, we, in conjunction with the other and older workers in this mighty cause, may be made the instruments of ever overthrowing a system so dishonouring to Him, and so cruel in its effects to so large a number of our fellow-creatures.

The office-bearers of the Society are—

*President*—REV. JAMES PRINGLE.

*Vice-President*—REV. J. C. BRUCE, LL.D.

*Treasurer*—JOHN FENWICK, Esq.

*Ladies' Sec.*—MRS. LANCE, 13, Summerhill St.

*Gent's Sec.*—MR. R. S. WAMSON, 10, Royal Arcade.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

**A MARYLAND SHERIFF IN LIMBO—STEALING AND SELLING A FREE NEGRO.**—A most high-handed outrage, recently perpetrated in Cecil County, has come to light within the last few days. We have been put in possession of the full particulars of the case, which are as follows:—Some time since, a negro prisoner escaped from the jail at Elkton, and John Poole, the sheriff of the County, who also fills the office of jailer, proposed to a coloured boy named Talbott—who turns out to have been free, but who was then in his custody (having been confined for inturbing a religious meeting in the vicinity of Principio)—to assist him in capturing the fugitive. Poole took the boy Talbott to Richmond, Va., and there offered him for sale as a slave. The boy stoutly protested that he was free, told where he was from, with whom he had formerly lived, &c.; but the sheriff as persistently claimed that he was a slave, and partially succeeded in convincing the men with whom he was dealing in Richmond that the boy was a slave.

We learn that Deputy-Marshal Manly, armed with the proper authority, left this city this morning, in the Southern train, for the purpose of bringing the boy Talbott back, if it is possible to find him. Should the charges brought against Poole be proven on him he will suffer severely, as the laws of Maryland come down very heavy on the crime of kidnapping.—*Wilmington (Del.) Republican*.

On Saturday night Sheriff Poole was arrested in Elkton, by officer Benny, of that place, on a warrant charging him with kidnapping, issued by Justice Gains.

Some difficulty, however, arose as to Poole's ability to furnish the necessary documents and papers, to make the sale legal. He left Talbott in custody at Richmond, and returned to Elkton, where it is charged he forged a bill of sale in his favour, made out all the necessary papers, and fraudulently procured the seal of the County to them. Thus armed, he returned to Richmond, and sold the boy for the sum of 1050 dollars.

We learned that James is Wells's uncle, and that both are extensive slave-dealers in New Orleans, their "pen" being in the rear of the famous St. Charles' Hotel. The firm of James and Co. is said to be worth upward of 3,000,000 dollars, and the "pen" is one of the largest in the Union, containing for sale, on an average, about five hundred negroes—good, bad, and indifferent. Agents of James, for the buying of slaves, are employed in all the Southern States. Before leaving Chatham, James offered "Joe" 100 dollars if he would go down to Windsor; but the latter informed us that he had rather not be in the old man's company, especially out of a crowd; for, says Joe, "I am positive, from what I know of him, that as soon as he got me out he would shoot me dead and then leave me, for he would as soon shoot a man as a black squirrel, and a white man as a black man; and his nephew is just like him."—*Chatham (Canada) Planet*, Aug. 5.

#### Advertisement.

JOSIAS F. BROWNE, and Co., 7, Marsden Street, Manchester, have a variety of calicoes manufactured from free-grown cotton, Prints, Muslins, Merino, and Cotton Hose and Vests, Carlisle Ginghams. The quick disposal of this stock would give a decided advantage in obtaining a new one for the coming season, and the orders of the shopkeepers would speedily increase at the call of their customers who have the welfare of the negro at heart. Sale is most required for 45 in Greys, Brown Cotton Half-hose, Ladies' Merino Hose, Tape Check, and Hair Cord, Muslins, Carlisle Ginghams.—Martha Bowden's Dépot, Gracechurch Street, London, is convenient for residents in the South, and deserving patronage.

**DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.**—We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following sums since the publication of our last list:

	Donations.	Subscript.
A Friend of Africa, per John Dymond, <i>Exeter</i>	5 0 0	
Executors of the late Joseph Eaton, <i>Bristol</i>	450 0 0	
Fothergill, Miss Mary, <i>Cheltenham</i>	1 0 0	
Fox, Thomas, <i>Bristol</i>	1 1 0	
Hill, John, <i>Earlcolne</i> (2 yrs.)	2 2 0	
Kitton, the Rev. J. Preston,	0 6 0	
Lillycrop, S. Esq., <i>Windsor</i> ,	0 10 0	
Russell, Robert, <i>Jamaica</i>	4 0 0	
G. W. Anshie, <i>Devizes</i>	1 0 0	